

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN,

That Part especially now call'd

ENGLAND.

From the first Traditional Beginning,  
Continu'd to the

NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the Ancientest and  
Best Authors thereof, by

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JOHN MILTON.

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LONDON,

Printed for *Ri. Chiswell*. Sold by *Nath. Roles*,  
at his Auction-House in *Petty-Cannons-*  
*Hall*, near the North side of *St. Paul's-*  
*Church*. MDCXCV.



Gift of  
Ernest B. Dane  
of Boston

*Given him by* THE *P. L. Jeffery*

**HISTORY**  
*from* - OF 1815  
**BRITAIN,**

That Part especially now call'd  
**ENGLAND;**

Continu'd to the

*Norman Conquest.*

**BOOK I.**

**T**HE Beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom Sacred Books have spok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the Beginning, but the Deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea, periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemisht with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of Barbarous

A 3      Inundations,

Inundations, or they themselves at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; whereby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have bin som destroy'd, som lost. Perhaps dis-esteem and contempt of the Public Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise Men, and of best Abilitie have forborn to Write the Acts of thir own Daies, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how Unworthy, how Pervers, how Corrupt, but often how Ignoble, how Petty, how below all History the Persons and thir Actions were; who either by Fortune, or som rude Election had attain'd as a fore Judgment, and Ignominie upon the Land, to have Chief Sway in managing the Common-wealth. But that any Law, or Superstition of our Old Philosophers the *Druids*, forbad the *Britans* to write the Memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of

*Ces. l. 6.* *Cæsar* should alledge: He indeed saith, that thir Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most matters else, both Privat, and Public, among which well may History be reckon'd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *British Druids*, who taught those in *Gaule* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely.

What

## Book I. *The History of England.*

7.

Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of *British Affairs*; from the first peopling of the Iland to the coming of *Julius Caesar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Fame hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a Modern Fable.

Nevertheless there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquitie, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and seeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted Fabulous, have bin after found to contain in them many footsteps, and reliques of something true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therefore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by their Art will know, how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce Example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnias* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controversies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath bin upheld, but shall endeavour that which hitherto

hath been needed most, with plain, and light-  
som brevity, to relate well and orderly things  
worth the Noting, so as may best instruct and  
benefit them that read. Which imploring  
Divine Assistance, that it may redound to his  
Glory, and the good of the *British* Nation, I  
*now begin.*

That the whole Earth was Inhabited before  
the Flood, and to the utmost point of habita-  
ble Ground, from those effectual words of  
*God* in the Creation, may be more than con-  
jectur'd. Hence that this Iland also had her  
Dwellers, her Affairs, and perahps her Sto-  
ries, ev'n in that Old World those many  
hundred years, with much reason we may in-  
ferr. After the Flood, and the dispersing of  
Nations, as they journey'd leasurely from the  
East, *Gomer* the eldest Son of *Japhet*, and his  
Off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and  
Affinitie of divers Names is generally be-  
leev'd, were the first that peopl'd all these  
West and Northern Climes. But they of our  
own Writers, who thought they had don no-  
thing, unless with all circumstance they tell  
us when, and who first set foot upon this  
Iland, presume to name out of fabulous and  
counterfeit Authors a certain *Samothés* or *Dis*,  
a fourth or sixth Son of *Japhet*, whom they  
make about 200 years after the Flood, to have  
planted with Colonies; first the Continent  
of *Celtica*, or *Gaule*, and next this Iland;  
Thence to have nam'd it *Samothéa*, to have  
Reign'd heer, and after him Lineally four  
Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But  
the

the forg'd *Berosus* whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either hee, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into *Britan*, or send thir people hither. So that this Out-landish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room heer so much as of a *British* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that these *Samotheans* under the Reign of *Bar-dus* were subdu'd by *Albian* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*: who call'd the lland after his own name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length passing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Lestrygon*, against whom *Hercules* was halting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there slain in fight, and *Bergion* also his Brother.

Sure enough we are, that *Britan* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a stonie shoar in *Languedoc*, where by report such a Battel was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention that wast-ed hither the fifty Daughters of a strange *Dio-clesian King of Syria*; brought in doubtless by some illiterate pretender to something mistak'n in the common Poetical Story of *Danaus King of Argos*, while his vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These  
Daughters

Daughters by appointment of *Danaus* on the Marriage-night having murder'd all thir Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wives loialty fav'd, were by him at the suit of his Wife thir Sister, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate: and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on *this Iland*. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless crew left here by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had issue by them a second breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd *the Ile*, till *Brutus* came.

The Eldest of those Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which cause the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the same *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may seem, so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be autoriz'd by the Elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thousand years agoe. This I find not in him; but that *Holinsbed.* *His- tion* sprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I beleieve, as that those other Nations whose names are resembl'd, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have giv'n us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Caesar*, we cannot so easily be discharg'd;

charg'd ; Descents of Ancestry, long continu'd Laws and Exploits not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common belief have wrought no small impressiō : defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeelded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from some noble Ancestor were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul ; till better invention, although not willing to forgoe the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, and by the same remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales, in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn names of successive Kings, never any to have bin real persons, or don in thir lives at least some part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mention'd, that which hath receav'd approbation from so many, I have chos'n not to omitt. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow ; so far as keeps alooff from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of Story. The principal Author is well know'n to be *Geoffery of Monmouth* ; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him have deliver'd the same matter, and such like general Discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree

Henry of  
Hunting-  
don.  
Matthew  
of West-  
minster.  
in

in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Ascanius*; whose Father was *Aeneas* a Trojan Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected number that escap'd, after long wandering on the Sea, arriv'd in Italy. Where at length, by the assistance of *Latinus King of Latium*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though Roman Histories deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Ascanius*) had married secretly a Niece of *Lavinia*.

She being with Child, the matter became known to *Ascanius*. Who commanding his Magicians to enquire by Art, what sex the Maid had conceiv'd, had answer, that it was one who should be the death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the fact, should after all in a farr Country attain to highest honour. The prediction fail'd not, for in travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his Kindred, he retires into Greece. Where meeting with the Race of *Helenus King Priam's Son*, held there in Servile condition by *Pandrasus then King*, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father slain at Troy had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into servitude. There *Brutus* among his own Stock so thrives in Vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains, above all the Youth of that Land. Wherby the  
Trojans

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*Trojans* not only begin to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their numbers, and the promis'd help of *Assaracus* a Noble Greekish Youth, by the Mothers side a *Trojan*; whom for that cause his Brother went about to dispossess of certain Castles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* considering both the Forces offer'd him, and the strength of those Holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortifi'd those Castles, he with *Assaracus* and the whole multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills; as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to *Pandrusus* this Message; *That the Trojans holding it unworthy thir Ancestors to serve in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; choosing rather a Savage life than a slavish: If that displeas'd him, that then with his leave they might depart to some other Sail.*

As this may pass with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in these parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhbus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhbus* by *Andromache* *Hector's* Wife could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, so much the more it may be doubted, how these *Trojans* could be thus in bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men so potent. But to examin these things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britan* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Island,  
is

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is equally under Question. Be't how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a Message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army. And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the *Greeks*, pursues him to the passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Acbelous*, or *Acberon* : where at the Ford he overlaies them afresh. This victory obtain'd, and a sufficient strength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the King's Brother and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the fight, returns to the residue of his Friends in the thick Woods. While *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, besieges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his men besieg'd, who earnestly call'd him, distrusting the sufficiency of his Force, bethinks himself of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his Friend *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he should go at the second hour of night to the Greekish Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain woody Vale ; unable through the waight of his Fetters to move further : entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus*, to save both himself and his Friend *Antigonus*, swears this ; and at fit hour setts on alone toward the

Camp :

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Camp: is mett, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him: and they now fully assur'd, with a credulous rashness leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the Camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the beseiged also now sallying forth, on the other side assaile. *Brutus* the while had special care to seise and secure the *Kings Person*; whose Life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the *Kings Treasury*, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Prisoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he summons to Counsell, what they should now demand of the *King*.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in *Greece*, unless they meant to be deluded with a suttle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the *Kings Eldest Daughter Imogen* in marriage to thir Leader

Leader *Brutus*, with a rich Dowry, next shipping, mony, and sitt provision for them all to depart the Land.

This resolution pleasing best the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is breifly told, that on these conditions granted, he might be free, not granted, he must prepare to die.

Prest with fear of death the King readily yeelds: especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confess'd so Noble and so Valiant: offers them also the Third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be thir Hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therefore solemniz'd, and shipping from all parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no less writt'n then three hundred four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a prosperous course two daies and a night bring them on a certain Island long before dispeopl'd and left wast by Sea-Roavers; the name whereof was then *Legecia*, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City; where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: but not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to thir Ships: Wishing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what voiage to pursue.

Consultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelve of the ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward shrine of the Goddess, in verse, as it  
from

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seems the manner was, utters his request, *Diva potens nemorum, &c.*

*Goddeſs of ſhades, and Huntreſs, who at will  
Walk'ſt on the rowling ſphear, and through the deep,  
On thy third Reigne the Earth look now, and tell  
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,  
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee  
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.*

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that night thus answer'd, *Brute ſub occaſum Solis, &c.*

*Brutus far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide  
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies,  
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,  
Now void, it fits thy people; thether bend  
Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,  
There to thy Sons another Troy ſhall riſe,  
And Kings be born of thee, whoſe dreaded might  
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.*

These Verſes Originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a Britiſh Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquitie of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verſes are much better, than for the Age of *Geoffrey ap-Arthur*, unleſs perhaps *Joſeph of Exeter*, the only ſmooth Poet of thoſe times, befriended him; in this *Diana* overſhot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipsis totius terra ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the race of *Brute Kings* of

this Iland, the whole Earth shall be subject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after som encounters on the *Afric* side, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of those *Trojans*, who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Chief: though by surer Authors it be reported, that those *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were seated on the other side of *Italie*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* shoar. But these joyning Company, and past the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* cast Anchor. Where after som discovery made of the place, *Corineus* Hunting nigh the shoar with his Men, is by Messengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* mett, and question'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, slaies him: and the *Pictavian* himself heerupon levyng his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battel Ar which he was wont to manage against the *Tyrrhen Giants* is said to have done marvell. But *Goffarius* having draw'n to his Aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *Twelve Kings*, puts his Fortune to a second Trial, wherein the *Trojans* over-born by multitude, are driv'n back, and beseig'd in thir own Camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly issuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whose device it was, assault-

ing

ing them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his men the night before; the *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the loss of *Trojan* a Valiant Nefew of *Brutus*; whose Ashes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his powers much lessn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leaves *Aquitain*, and with an easie course, arriving at *Fotness* in *Dev'nshire*, quickly perceiv's heer to be the promis'd end of his labours:

The Iland not yet *Britan* but *Albion*, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*; whose excessive force and Tyrannie had consum'd the rest. Them *Brutus* destroies, and to his people divides the Land, which with som reference to his own name he thenceforth calls *Britan*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot; he rather by him lik't, for that the hugest *Giants*, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And heer, with leave bespok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our best poets; While *Brutus* on a certain Festival day solemnly kept on that shoar, where he first landed, was with the People in great jollity and mirth; a crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the sudden another sort of Game than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goëmagog* the hugest, in hight twelve Cubits, is reserv'd alive; that with him *Cori-*

neus, who desir'd nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a Wrestle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: Nevertheless *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his name on the Cliff, call'd ever since *Langoëmagog*, which is to say, the Giants leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a chosen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*; and began to enact Laws; *Heli* beeing then high Priest in *Judea*: and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by consent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loëgria*; *Camber* possess'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact* *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Hums*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in fight, and his People driv'n back into *Loëgria*. *Locrine* and his Brother goe out against *Humber*; who now marching outward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, passing fair; the Daughter of a King in *Germany*; from whence *Humber*, as he went wasting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive: whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolves to marry. But beeing forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whose Authority,

city, and Power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in secret loves the other: and oft-times retiring as to som private Sacrifice, through Vaults and Passages made under ground; and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he make *Estrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in a rage departs into *Cornwall*; where *Madan*, the Son she had by *Lochrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Fathers Friends and Subjects, gives Battail to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Lochrine* shot with an Arrow ends his life. But not so ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Estrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, she throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damsels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years she Governs in behalf of her Son; then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Fathers Dominion. This saith my Author, was in the daies of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the space of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius*, and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had first to do with the ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a meeting to

compose matters, with a treachery which his cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole possession, whereof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly giv'n over to unnatural lust, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Forest, he was devowr'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc*, a man of mighty strength and stature, Reign'd 40 Years. He first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*; and returning rich and prosperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania Alclud*, Mount *Agned*, or the Castle of *Maydens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he sent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who bestow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Assaracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from these Brethren, *Germania*: a derivation too hastily suppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germanus* or the Latin Tongue was in use. Som who have describ'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Lessabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his Warre there was by *Bruncbild* Lord of *Henault* put to the worse.

*Brutus* therefore surnamed *Greenshield* succeeding, to repair his Fathers losses, as the same *Lessabeus* reports, fought a second Battle in *Henault* with *Bruncbild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and Encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which our *Spencer* also thus Sings.

Let *Scaldis* tell, and let tell *Hania*,

And let the *Marsh* of *Esthambruges* tell

What

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What colour were their Waters that same day,  
And all the Moar twixt Elversham and Dell;  
With blood of Henalois which therein fell;  
How oft that day did sad Brumchildis see  
The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous Fermeil, &c.  
But Henault, and Brumchild, and Greenshield  
seeme newer name sthan for a Story pretend  
ed thus Antient.

Him succeeded Leir, a maintainer of Peace  
and Equity; but slackn'd in his latter end,  
whence arose some civil discord. He built in  
the North Cairleir; and in the days of Solomon:

Rudbuddibras, or Hudibras, appeasing the  
commotions which his Father could not,  
founded Caerkeynt or Canterbury, Caerguent, or  
Winobester, and Mount Paladur, now Septhoria  
or Shaftsbury: but this by others is contra-  
dicted.

Bladud his Son built Caerbadius or Bathe, and  
those medicinable waters he dedicated to *Asi-  
nerua*, in whose Temple there he kept fire  
continually burning. He was a man of great  
Invention, and taught Necromancy: till hav-  
ing made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon  
the Temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so  
dy'd after twenty years Reigne.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct  
Line hath run on: but Leir who next Reign'd,  
had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue:  
govern'd laudably, and built Caer-Leir, now  
Leicest're, on the Bank of Sora. But at last,  
failing through Age, he determines to bestow  
his Daughters, and so among them to divide  
his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them

lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying be-hooov'd him) *he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe.* *Gonoril th' Eldest apprehending too well her Fathers weakness, makes answer, invoking Heav'n, That she lov'd him above her Sould. Therefore, quoth the old man overjoy'd, since thou so honour'st my declin'd Age; to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my Realm.* So fair a speeding for a few words soon utter'd, was to *Regan* the second, ample instruction what to say. She on the same demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that *she lov'd him above all Creatures;* and so receav's an equal reward with her Sister. But *Cordelia* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and vertuous answer. *Father, saith she, my love towards you is as my duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking, with a loiall sadness at her Fathers infirmity, but som thing on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her own mind,

mind, Two waies only, saith she, I have to answer what you require mee; the former, Your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left mee; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you. Then hear thou, quoth *Leir* now all in a passion, what thy ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou hast not reverenc'd thy aged Father equally to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reck'n to have none. And without delay gives in marriage his other Daughters, *Gonorill* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henninus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wisdom, and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, insomuch that *Aganippus* a great King in *Gaul* (however he came by his Greek name) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receav's her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this King *Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an easy prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands; who now by daily encroachment had seifs'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the old King is put to sojourn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual Guests, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter: but there also discord soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family,

Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his Eldest could not but have more pity on his Gray Hairs: but she now refuses to admit him unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had so injur'd, be it but to pay her the last recompence she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, the prooff and experiment of her Wisdom, might somthing soft'n her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be seen a difference between the silent or down-right spok'n affection of som Children to their Parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the tongues end enlarges their duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her Father in distress, povers forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her trusted Servants, first to convey him privately toward som good Sea Town there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendants and State, as be seem'd his Dignity. That then, as from his first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which don

don with all mature, and requisite contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had news of his passing the Sea, goe out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royal Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and disposal of his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her piety so prosper'd, as that she vanquish'd her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and *Leir* again, as saith the story, three years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all Regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leicestre*. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, Rul'd the Land five years in Peace, Untill *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in that unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to suffer, she there, as is related, kill'd her self. The Victors between them part the Land: put *Marganus* the Eldest Sisters Son who held by agreement from the North-side of *Humber* to *Cathness*, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own right, warres on *Cunedagius*; who soon meet him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

*Cune-*

*Cunedagius* was now sole King, and govern'd with much praise many years; about the time when *Rome* was built. Him succeeded *Rivallo* his Son, wise also and fortunat; save what they tell us of three daies raining blood, and swarms of stinging Flies, whereof men dy'd. In order then *Gurgustius*, *Jaga* or *Lago*, his Nefew; *Sisilius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex*, and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by treachery his Brothers life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and slaies him. But by his Mother *Videna* who less lov'd him, is himself, with the assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*. Whereupon, the whole Land with Civil Broils was rent into Five Kingdoms, long time waging Warr each on other; and som say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten King of Cornwall*, one of the fore-said five, excelling in valour, and goodliness of person, after his Fathers decease found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy: subduing the rest at opportunities. First *Tinnet King of Loegria* whom he slew; then *Rudaucus of Cambria*, *Staterius of Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtfull, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the

Armour.

Armour of the slain Enemies ; and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where those two Kings had plac'd themselves in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults, and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensignes which before he had conceal'd, and sending notice to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo* was the first in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold ; and therefore by som reputed the first King. He established the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the *English* to this day ; writt'n long after in Latine by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred* : so saith *Geofrey*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the *Britans* before *Cæsar* ; much less knew *Alfred*. These Laws, whoever made them, bestow'd on Temples the privilege of Sanctuary ; to Cities also, and the waies thether leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge : and made such riddance of Theeves and Robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty Years he Govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord ; which he, to the memory of peace restor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons *Belinus* and *Brennus* contending about the Crown, by decision of Friends came at length to an accord ; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovrantic of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose valour had so oft repell'd the invasions of *Ceulphus* the *Marine Duke*, should now be subject to his

his Brother, upon new Designe sails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinitie with *Elfing* that King; which *Belinus* perceaving in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britan*; but encounter'd by *Guitblac* the *Danish King*, who laying claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea, his hast was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: who from the fight by a sudden Tempest, was by the *Danish King* driv'n on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battel to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but losing the day, escapes with one single Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane* upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prise, *Belinus* returns his thoughts to the administring of Justice, and the perfecting of his Fathers Laws; and to explain what High-ways might enjoy the forsaid privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmost length and bredth of the Iland; and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other side solliciting to his aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happ'ns at last on *Seginus Duke of the Allobroges*; where his worth, and comliness of person wan him the Dukes Daughter and Heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd leave passing with a great Host through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britan*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepar'd, and now the Battel ready  
to

to joyn *Conuenna* the Mother of them both all in a fright, throws her self between; and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his sight, after imbracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are hands joyn'd, reconciliation made firm, and Counsel held to turn thir united preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia* was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which heer against the stream of History carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabius* and *Porfena*, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally beleev'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britans*; the Name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a Great *Britan*. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his daies rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predecessors; building som Cities, of which one was *Caerose* upon *Osea*, since *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the *Thames*, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his Ashes  
are

are said to have bin laid up in a Golden Urne.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and just, but yet inheriting his Fathers Courage, he subdu'd the *Dacian* or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute Covnanted to *Belinus* for his enlargment. In his return finding about the *Orkneis* 30 ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholinus* wrongfully banish'd, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

*Guitheline* his Son, is also remember'd, as a just and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd so much in wisdom as to venture upon a new Institution of Laws. Which King *Alfred* Translating call'd *Marchen Leage*, but more truly therby is meant, the Mercian Law; not translated by *Alfred*, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her Son she had the rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculin Births, but by the advice of her sagest Counselors; and therein she might doe vertuously, since it befell her to supply the nonage of her Son: else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Woman should give Laws to Men.

His Son *Sifilius* comming to Years receav'd  
the

the Rule ; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tanguetela* a Concubine, who is recorded a man of excessive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruell ; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy, or Friend, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain *King of the Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland* ; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame : But dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel usage of his Prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence put all to several Deaths : well fitted to such a bestial Cruelty was his end ; for hearing of a huge Monster, that from the Irish Sea infested the Coast, and in the Pride of his Strength foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a Brute vastness, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

*Gorbonian* the Eldest of his five Sons, than whom a Juster man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due ; to his Gods devout Worship, to men of desert honour and preferment ; to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours, and Trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions, so that the Land flourish'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong seldom was heard of : his Death was a general loss : he was buried in *Trinovant*. *Archigallo* the second Brother follow'd not his Example ; but depress'd the ancient Nobility,

and by peeling the wealthier sort, stuff'd his Treasury, and took the right way to be depos'd. *Elidure* the next Brother, furnam'd the Pious, was set up in his place; a mind so noble, and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his depos'd Brother, wandring in mean condition: who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren aides to his Restoremēt: and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten followers, privatly return'd to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the City *Abclud*; there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himself sick, summons all his Peers, as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them willing, or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to *York*; and from his own Head, places the Crown on the head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a deed so Heroic, became a true converted man; rul'd worthily 10 Years; dy'd, and was Buried in *Caerleir*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown

Crown, the thing that so often dazzles, and vitiates mortal men, for which, thousands of neereſt blood have deſtroꝝ'd each other; was in reſpect of Brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing. *Elidure* now in his own behalf re-aſſumes the Government, and did as was worthy ſuch a man to doe. When Providence, that ſo great vertue might want no ſort of tryal to make it more illuſtrious, ſtirr'd up *Vigenus*, and *Peredure* his youngeſt Brethren, againſt him who had deſerv'd ſo nobly of that relation, as leaſt of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they Imprison in the Tower of *Trinkram*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenus*. After whoſe Death *Peredure* obtaining all; ſo much the better us'd his power, by how much the worſe he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miſſ't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he ſhould die firſt: and *Elidure* after many years Imprisonment, is now the third time ſeated on the Throne; which at laſt he enjoy'd long in Peace; finiſhing the interrupted courſe of his mild, and juſt Reign, as full of vertuous deeds, as daies to his end. After theſe five Sons of *Monindus*, ſucceeded alſo thir Sons in Order: \* *Regin* of *Gorbomian*, *Manganus* of *Ar* *Matthew* *ibigallo*; both good Kings. But *Enniatus* his *of Weſt-* Brother taking other courſes, was after fix *min.* years depoſ'd. Then *Idmalla* taught by a neer Example, Govern'd ſoberly. Then *Ruino*, then *Gerontius*. He of *Peredure*, this laſt the

Son of *Elidurus*. From whose Loyns (for that likely is the durable; and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings, whose names only for many successions without other memory stand thus register'd; *Catebus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*; his Son *Chriamus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Glotenis*, *Guirgallus*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oenus*, *Sisilinus*; twentie Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermis- sion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself wearie, as seems, of his own tedious Tale, or troubled; *moban* *id* *obiv*

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegad* *beccus* next succeeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Music; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his twentie Predecessors doings. Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; His Brother *Archimandus*, *Eldok*, *Radion*, *Rederchius*, *Samuilus*, *Penissel*, *Pir*, *Caporus*, but *Cliguellinus*, with the addition of Modest, Wife, and Just. His Son *Heli* Reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Cassibelaun*, and *Nerinus*. This *Lud* seems to be the same whom *Nennius* in his fragment calls *Mintocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Cassibelaun*; *Lud* was he that enlarg'd, and wall'd about *Trinovant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own name *Cærlud*, or *Luds Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great  
dissention

dissention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nennius*; who took it hainously that the name of *Troy* thir ancient Country should be abolish'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in Warr, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Hands of the Sea, saith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate which from thence wee call *Ludgate*. His two Sons *Androgeus*, and *Tenuantius*, were left to the tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose bonny, and high demeanor so wraught with the common people, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nefews, conferres freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*, upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwall*: reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the *Romans* for a while circumscrib'd his power. Thus farr, though leaning only on the credit of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his assertors, I yet for the specify'd causes have thought it not beneath my purpose, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing, or collating Years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things wherof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travail'd through a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrives on the Confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a clear dawn,

*Huntingd.*  
L. 1.

## The History of England. Book I.

representing to our view, though at a farr distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit, *Cæsar*, whose Authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of mis-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars against *Pompey*, much more, may wee think, in the *British affairs*, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted, yet now in such variety of good Authors, we hardly can miss from one hand or other to be sufficiently inform'd, as of things past so long agoe. But this will better be referr'd to a second Discourse.

*The End of the first Book.*

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THE

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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BOOK II.

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**I** Am now to write of what befell the *Britans* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when first the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, Collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the Civilest, and the Wifest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that Puissant City. For Worthy Deeds are not often destitute of worthy Relaters: As by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true, that in ob-

scurest times, by shallow and unskilfull Writers, the indistinct noise of many Battels, and Devastations, of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our Eares. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the love of rapine hath stirr'd up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and ruining Warrs, which to Posterity have left the work of Wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerours? But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of Warr and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent destruction, to bring in Liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things else, he cannot Conquer Time, or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the aid of Eloquence, his friendliest and best supply; by whose immortal Record his Noble Deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over Envy, Death, and Time, also victorious. Therefore when the esteem of Science, and Liberal Study waxes low in the Common-wealth, we may presume that also there all Civil Vertue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were consoled in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of Virtue corrupts also and fades; at least resignes her office of relating, to illiterat and frivolous Historians;

storians; such as the persons themselves both deserv, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they want either the understanding to chuse better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and searching stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the survey of thir un-sound exploits, better befriended by obscurity than Fame. As for these, the only Authors wee have of *Brittish* matters, while the power of *Rome* reach'd hither (for *Gildas* affirms that of the *Roman* times noe *Brittish* Writer was in his daies extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as fled the *Pictish* and *Saxon* Invasions) these therefore only *Roman* Authors there bee who in the English Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a History of *Britan*. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so neer to the beginning, I should have judg'd this labour, wherein so little seems to be requir'd above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if ought by diligence may bee added, or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explain'd, or more express'd, I shall assay.

*Julius Caesar* (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more than what appertains, is not here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most part of *Gallia*, which by a Potent Faction, he had obtain'd of the Senate as his Province for many years, stirr'd up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his ambition, som say, with *Suetonius* *Vit. Caf.*  
a farr

Year be-  
fore  
Christ, 53.

Suetonius.  
Cæsar Com.  
L. I.

a far meaner and ignobler, the desire of *British* Pearls, whose bigness he delighted to balance in his hand, determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to try his Force in the conquest also of *Britan*. For he understood that the *Britans* in most of his *Gallian* Warrs had sent Supplies against him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therefore *Cæsar*, thought now the Summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a Warr, yet judg'd it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the accesles; which then, it seems, were eev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to Travel thither; and to those that doe, besides the Sea Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But heer I must require, as *Pollio* did, the diligence, at least the memory of *Cæsar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a Puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britan* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if also the *Britans* had so frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Warrs, if lastly the *Druid* learning honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britan*, and they who soonest would attain that

that Discipline, sent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britan* at that time should be so utterly unknown in *Gallia*, or only known to Merchants, yea to them so little, that being call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cesar* of what bigness the Ile, what Nations, how great, what use of Warr they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. *Cesar Com.*  
Of all which things as it were then first to L. 4.  
make discovery, he sends *Caius Volusenus*, in a long Galley, with command to return assoon as this could be effected. Hee in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the *Morine Coast*, whence the shortest passage was into *Britan*. Hether his Navy which he us'd against the *Armoricans*, and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britan*, Embassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedince to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cesar* as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them *Cominus of Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* party among the *Britans*, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thither. *Volusenus* with what discovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five daies returns to *Cesar*. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Romans*

mans and thir Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 45000 Horse, the Foot in 80 Ships of burden, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his Chief Commanders, setts off about the third watch of night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a sufficient strength. But the Horse whose appointed Shipping lay wind-bound eight mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to Imbark. *Cæsar* now within sight of *Britan* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed men, ready to forbid his Landing; and *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the accessles of the Iland were wondrously fortify'd with strong Works or Moles. Heer from the fowrth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet: Mean while with his Legatts and Tribuns consulting, and giving order to fitt all things for what might happ'n in such a various, and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd wih Hills, appearing no way Commodious, he removes to a plain and open shoar eight Mile distant; commonly suppos'd about *Deal in Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd thir Horse and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, scowring before, thir main powr speeding after, som thick upon the shoar, others not carrying to be assail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and assault the *Romans* ev'n under thir Ships; with such a bold, and free hardihood, that *Cæsar* him-  
self

*Cic. Att. L.*  
*4. Ep. 17.*

*Camden.*

self between confessing and excusing that his Souldiers were to com down from thir Ships, to stand in water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terrour of such new and resolute opposition made them forget thir wonted valour. To succour which, he commands his Gallies, a fight unusual to the *Britans*, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the op'n side of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea-Castles, bearing up sooner, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oares, the battring of feirce Engines against thir bodies: barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain; till he who bare the Eagle of the Tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his Gods, said thus aloud, *Leap down Souldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensigne; I for my part will perform what I owe to the Commonwealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle feirly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy, the rest hartning one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing thir Chief Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew thir own advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the shallows, now on the Sand, still as the *Romans* went trooping to thir Ensignes, receav'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horse, put them every where to great disorder. But *Caesar* cau-  
sing

Valer.  
Max. Pla-  
tarch.

In Caesarib.

sing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the Foot now dis-imbark't, and got together in som order on firm ground, with a more stedy charge put the Britans to flight: but wanting all thir Horse, whom the winds yet with-held from Sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight *Scava* a Roman Souldier, having pres'd too far among the Britans, and besett round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherein valour, and ingenuity so much outweigh'd transgression, easily made amends, and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Caesar* also is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Caesar* less understand what became him than *Scava*. The Britans finding themselves master'd in fight, forthwith send Embassadors to treat of Peace; promising to give Hostages, and to be at Command. With them *Comius* of *Arus* also return'd; whom hitherto since his first coming from *Caesar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a Spy: the blame whereof they lay on the Common People; for whose violence, and thir own imprudence

dence they crave pardon. *Cæsar* complaining they had first sought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: whereof part they bring in strait, others far up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few daies. Mean while the people disbanded and sent home, many Princes, and Chief Men from all parts of the Ile submit themselves and thir Cities to the dispose of *Cæsar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Barabon down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir peace; when suddenly an accident unlook'd for put new counsels into thir minds. Fowr daies after the coming of *Cæsar*, those 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a sudden tempest scatter'd, and driv'n back, some to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no safety either to Land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled Sea; and as *Croesus* reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being Full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the *Romans*, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cæsar*, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well

well perceaving, and by the compass of his Camp, which without baggage appear'd the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one sliely withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a Peace, resolve to stop all Provisions, and to draw out the business till Winter. *Cæsar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and thir other Hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happ'n: laies in Corn, and with materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of those Ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his Souldiers, all but twelv were again made servicable. While these things are doing, one of the Legions being sent out to forrage, as was accusom'd, and no suspicion of Warr, while som of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about, others also going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in station at the Camp Gates sent speedy word to *Cæsar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater dust than usual was seen to rise. *Cæsar* guessing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to succeed in thir stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæsar* discerns his Legion sore overcharg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreach'd of

of all thir Harvest, had plac'd an Ambush; and while they were disperst and busiest at thir labour, set upon them, kill'd som, and routed the rest. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horse, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horse, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioters, in the mean while somewhat a side from the Battel, set themselves in such order, that thir Masters at any time oppress'd with odds, might retire safely thether, having perform'd with one person both the nimble service of a Horseman, and the stedfast duty of a Foot Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by use, and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep Hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this sort of new skirmishing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cæsar* with opportune aid appears; for then the *Britans* make a stand: But he considering that now was not fitt time to offer Battel, while his men were scarce recover'd of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder action for many daies following was hinder'd on both sides by foul weather; in which time the *Britans* dispatching Messengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of prize and booty, and now if ever of freeing them-

selves from the Fear of like invasions hereafter, by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp their Enemies; at this intimation multitudes of Horse and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the Romans. *Cæsar* foreseeing that the *Britans*, though beat'n and put to flight, would easily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horse, which *Comus* had brought over, draws out his men to Battel, puts again the *Britans* to flight, pursues with slaughter, and returning burns and laies waste all about. Whereupon Embassadors the same day being sent from the *Britans* to desire Peace, *Cæsar*, as his affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of Faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages, to be sent after him into *Gallia*: And because *September* was nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the same night with a fair wind he departs towards *Belgia*: whether two only of the *Britan* Cities sent Hostages, as they promis'd, the rest neglected. But at *Rome* when the news came of *Cæsars* Acts here, whether it were esteem'd a Conquest, or a fair Escape, supplication of 20 daies is decreed by the Senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both *Cæsar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

Dion.

*Cæsar* Com.  
5.

The Winter following, *Cæsar*, as his custom was, going into *Italy*, when as he saw that most of the *Britans* regarded not to send their Hostages, appoints his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*,

*Belgia*, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to bee, as therby easier both to fraught, and to hale alhoar; nor needed to be higher, because the Tyde so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea than those in the *Mediterranean*: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other fraughtage, being intended cheisly to that end. These all about 600 in a readines, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athenæus* affirms, in all 1000, *Cæsar* from Port *Iccius*, a passage of som 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labiænus* to guard the hav'n, and for other supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about Sun sett hoyling saile with a slack South-West, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the current, had fal'n off from the Ile, which now they could descry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oare, and kept course with Ships under sail, he bore up as neer as might bee, to the same place where he had lauded the year before; where about noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after know'n, had bin there, at sight of so huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cæsar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best advantage, som notice being giv'n him by those he took, where

Before the  
Birch of  
Christ, 52.

to find the Enemy, with his whole power, save only ten cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the same night marches up twelve mile into the Country. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, espies embattail'd the *British Forces*. They with thir Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the fight; but repuls't by the *Roman Cavahrie* give back into the Woods to a place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of strength rays'd heertofore in times of Warrs among themselvs. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these the *Britans* did thir utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the seventh Legion locking all thir Shields together like a rooff close over head, and others raising a Mount, without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as beeing through ways unknown; and now ev'ning came on, which they more wisely spent, in choosing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that night. The next Morning *Cesar* had but newly sent out his Men in three Bodies to pursue, and the last no furdur gon than yet in sight, when Horsemen all in Poste from *Quintus Artius* bring word to *Cesar*, that almost all his Ships in a Tempest that night had suffer'd wrack,

and

and lay brok'n upon the shoar. *Cæsar* at this news recalls his Legions, himself in all hast riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn, and shak'n, as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he assembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*: who preventing him with greater powers than before, had now repossess'd themselves of that place, under *Cassibellan* thir cheif Leader. Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual Warr; but now in the common danger had all made choise of him to be thir General. Heer the *British* Horse and Charioters meeting with the *Roman* Cavalrie fought stoutly; and at first, somthing overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the *Romans*, made head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while *Cæsar*, who thought the days work had bid done,

was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give feirce assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries, and while the main Cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarme, stood within a small distance of each other, terrify'd at the newness and the boldness of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the *Romans* that day was slain *Quintus Læberius Durus* a Tribune: the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cæsar's* Camp, and sustain'd the resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the assault. *Cæsar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durst not by ancient Discipline stirr from thir Ensigne; and the Horse alone, disjoyn'd from the Legions, against a Foe that turn'd suddenly upon them, with a mixt encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Besides thir Fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions, and open distances to make thir onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to releev and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argu'd no small experience, and use of Arms. Next day the *Britans* asarr off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves heer and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cæsar* having sent out

out three Legions, and all his Horse with *Trebonius* the Legat, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Forragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, beeing well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from thir Chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against *Cæsar*. Whereof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Cassibelan*, which on this side were bounded by the *Thames*, not passable except in one place and that difficult, about *Coway stakes neer Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the Bank sett all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with water; whereof the marks in *Beda's* time, were to be seen, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were tak'n, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over; then his Foot, who wading up to the neck went on so resolutely, and so fast, that they on the farder side not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. *Cassibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victorie, dismissing all but 4000 of those Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waies attends thir motion; where the *Romans* are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual sallies upon the Horse, where

they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compells them foe close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or bootie without ill success. Whereupon *Cæsar* strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil'd and burnt. Meane while the *Trinobantes* a State or Kingdome, and perhaps the greatest then among the *Britans*, less favouring *Cassibellan* send Embassadors, and yield to *Cæsar* upon this reason. *Immanuentius* had bin thir King: Him *Cassibellan* had slaine, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda* *Androgisus*; but the youth escaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the protection of *Cæsar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended; and sent home to succeed in his Fathers right. *Cæsar* sends him, demands forty Hostages and Provision for his Armie, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By thir Example the *Cenimaghi*, *Segontiaci*, *Anealites*, *Bibroci*, *Eboraci* (so I write them from the modern names are but guess'd) on like terms make thir peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibellan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not far distant; fenc'd about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff'd with Men and much Cattle. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Woody places ditch't round, and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the invades of Enemies. Thelief goes *Cæsar* with his Legions, and though  
a place

a place of great strength both by Art and Nature, assaults it in two places. The *Britains* after som defence fled out all at another end of the Town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattel found there. *Cassibelan* for all these losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his Authoritie so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner possess'd by the Enemy, his Messengers and Commands finde obedience enough to raise all the People. By his direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, four Kings Reigning in those Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping: But they whom *Cesar* left there, issuing out slew many, and took Prisoners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without loss of thir own. *Cassibelan* after so many defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Cities from him, thir inconstancie and fallshood one to another, uses mediation by *Comius of Arras* to send Embassadors about Treatie of Yeilding. *Cesar* who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland should pay to *Rome*, forbids him to molest the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hostages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twice embark't his whole Armie. At his return to *Pliny*. *Rome*, as from a glorious enterprise, he offers to *Venus* the Patroness of his Family, a Corset of British

Oros. Lib. 6.  
cap. 7. & 9.

Dion.

Mela.

Cæsar.

*British Pearles.* How be it other Ancient Writers have spok'n more doubtfully of *Cæsars* Victories heer; and that in plaine termes he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers passages heer and there in *Tacitus* is alleg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took what he wrote from a Historie of *Suetonius* now lost, writes that *Cæsar* in his first journey entertain'd with a sharp fight lost no small number of his Foot, and by tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed, *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The *British* Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial Discourses of *Cæsars* beeing heer, which are best omitted. Nor have wee more of *Cassibelan*, than what the same storie tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nefew slain by *Evelinus* Nefew to the other; which business at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *Torke*, if the *Moumouth Book* Fable not. But at *Cæsars* coming hither, such likeliest where the *Britans*, as the Writers of those times, and thir own actions represent them; in courage and warlike readines to take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, not inferior to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cæsar*, in Weapons, Arms, and the skill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; thir Weapons were a short Spear and light Target, a Sword also by thir side, thir fight sometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir bodies most part naked, only painted

painted with Woad in sundrie figures to seem  
 terrible as they thought, but pursu'd by Ene- *Herodian.*  
 mies, not nice of thir painting to run into  
 Bogs, worse than *wild Irish* up to the Neck,  
 and there to stay many daies holding a certain  
 morsel in thir mouths no bigger then a bean, *Dion.*  
 to suffice hunger; but that receipt, and the  
 temperance it taught, is long since unknown  
 among us: thir Towns and strong Holds were  
 spaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch *Cesar.*  
 and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other,  
 thir buildings within were thatch't Houses for *Strabo.*  
 themselves and thir Cattell: In peace the Up-  
 land Inhabitants besides hunting tended thir *Dion.*  
 flocks and heards, but with little skill of Coun-  
 trie affaires; the making of Cheese they com-  
 monly knew not, Woole or Flax they spun not, *Strabo.*  
 gard'ning and planting many of them knew  
 not; clothing they had none, but what the  
 skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not al- *Herodian.*  
 waies; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir  
 own skins with several Portratures of Beast, *Solinus.*  
 Bird, or Flower, *A Vanitie which hath not yet*  
*left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt be-*  
*hung now with as many colour'd Ribans and Gem-*  
*gawes;* towards the Sea side they till'd the *Cesar.*  
 ground, and liv'd much after the manner of  
*Gaules* thir Neighbours, or first Planters: thir  
 money was brazen Pieces or Iron Rings, thir  
 best Merchandise Tin, the rest trifles of Glass, *Tacitus, Di-*  
*odor. Strab.*  
 Ivorie and such like; yet Gemms and Pearles  
 they had, saith *Mela*, in som Rivers: thir Ships  
 of light timber wickerd with Oysier between, *Lucan.*  
 and cover'd over with Leather, serv'd not  
 therefore

Tacitus.

Mela.

Dion.

Caesar.

Caesar.

therefore to transport them far, and thir Commodities were fetch't away by Foren Merchants: thir dealing, saith *Diodorus*, plain and simple without fraude; thir Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans*: thir Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in great reverence, and the *Mistleto* especially growing theron; *Plinie* writes them skill'd in Magic no less than those of *Persia*: by thir abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, saith *Dion*, and thir Opinion of the Soules passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras*; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending somtimes about the Archpriesthood not without Civil Warr and slaughter; nor restrain'd they the People under them from a lew'd adulterous and incestuous life, ten or twelv men absurdly against Nature, possessing one woman as thir common Wife, though of neereft Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach'd heer abolish'd such impurities; and of the *Romans* we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beate us into som civilitie; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before

before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Common-wealth, and was slain in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*, either contemning the *Iland*, as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmitie worth the fearing; or out of a wholesome State-maxim, as som say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildie, made no attempt against the *Britans*. But the truer cause was partly civil Warr among the *Romans*, partly other affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own dispose, *Augustus* in imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was com into *Gallia*, when the news of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: About seven year after in the same Resolution, what with the unsettldness of *Gallia*, and what with Embassadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arising about Covnants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheless some of the *British Potentates* omitted not to seek his friendship by gifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious addresses. Insomuch that the whole *Iland* became eev'n in those daies well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britans* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie Customes were levied

*Strabo* L. 2.

Year before the Birth of Christ, 32.

*Dion.* L. 49.

Year before the Birth of Christ, 25.

*Dion.* L. 53.

24.

*Strabo* L. 4.

on the slight Commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*. After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Storie was made King. For *Androgeus* the Elder, conceaving himself generally hated, for siding with the *Romans*, forsook his claime heer, and follow'd *Cæsars* Fortune. This King is recorded Just and Warlike. His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held friendly correspondencies to the end; was a warlike Prince; his Chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his Coines yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering alwaies to the advice of *Augustus*, and of himself less careing to extend the Bounds of his Empire, sought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin cast on the *Britan* shoar. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, haveing past the *Alpes* with intent to rob and spoile those Provinces, & stirr'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*, who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thither to him, made semblance of marching toward *Britan*; but beeing come to the Ocean, and there behaveing himself madly, and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britan* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the Eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own practice against it, from the Crown, though

*Tacit. ap. L.*

2.

Year after  
the Birth  
of Christ,  
16.

*Dion. Sue-*  
*ton. Cal.*

*An. Dom.*

40.

though by an old Coine seeming to have also reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caratacus* the two younger, uncertaine whether equal or subordinate in power, were advanc'd into his place. But through civil discord, *Bericus* (what he *Dion.* was farder, is not known) with others of his party flying to *Rome*, perswaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invasion. *Claudius* now Consul the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the persuation of these fugitives, whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd *Sueton.* to render, and they for that cause had deny'd farder amity with *Rome*, makes choise of this *Iland* for his Province: and sends before him *Aulus Plautius* the *Prætor*, with this command, if the business grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perswaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they must be put to make Warr beyond the Worlds End; for so they counted *Britan*; and what welcome *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoysling saile from three several Ports, lest thir Landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross winds, they were cast back and disheartn'd: till in the night a Meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fanci'd, directing thir course, they took heart again to try the Sea, and without opposition Landed. For the *Britans* haveing heard of thir unwillingness to come, had bin negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the Woods and Moares, intended to frustrate,

strate, and wear them out with delaies, as they had serv'd *Cæsar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountring first with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were subject to the *Ca-tuellani*, and leaving there a Garrison, went on toward a River; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plautius* without a bridge could pass, lay on the furdur side careless and secure. But he sending first the *Germans*, whose custome was, arm'd as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the Horses, whereby the Chariots, wherein consisted thir chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent *Vespasian*, who in his later daies obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* dismaid; but reuniteing the next day fought with such a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victorie: till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with those places, cross'd over, where the *Romans* following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with fundry Alarmes and great

great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of thir own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of these Battels had bin slain, *Plautius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this enterprize esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger terrors than *Roman* Armies to meet the Native and the naked *British* Valour defending their Country. Joyn'd with *Plautius* who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he passes the River. The *Britans*, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in down right Manhood scrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almost the whole Powr of the *Roman* Empire. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by force, others by treatie com in and yeild. *Claudius* therfore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Armie saluted *Imperator*; a Militarie Title which usually they gave thir General after any notable exploit; but to others not above once in the same Warr; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deserv'd more than the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Having therfore disarm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the confis-

Diss L. 6a.

E cation

Tacit. an.  
14.

44.

Suetonius.

Claud. 5.

24.

Sueton.

V. sp.

Dion. L.

60.

47.

cation of their goods, for which they worship'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd; he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had bin absent only six moneths, and in *Britan* but 16 daies; sending the news before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the *Iland*. To whom the Senate, as for atchievements of highest merit, decree'd excessive honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, annual Solemnities, and the Sirname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son. *Suetonius* writes that *Claudius* found heer no resistance, and that all was done without stroke: but this seems not probable. The *Monmouth* Writer names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius*, and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* beeing slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceale it, put on his Brothers Habillements, and in his person held up the Battel to a Victorie; the rest, as of *Hamo* the Roman Captain, *Genuissa* the Emperours Daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth reherling in the midst of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to Conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work enough to deserve at his returne a kind of Tryumphant riding into the *Capitol* side by side with the Emperour. *Vespasian* also under *Plautius* had thirtie conflicts with the Enemy; in one of which encompass'd and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: Two powerful Nations he subdu'd heer, above 20 Townes and the *Ile of Wight*; for which he received at *Rome* Tryumphal Ornaments, and other

other great Dignities. For that *Cittie* in reward of vertue was ever magnificent: and long after when true merit was ceas'd among them, lest any thing resembling vertue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allow'd to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. *Ostorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent affairs; the *Britans* not ceasing to vex with in-<sup>50.</sup> *Tacitus an.*  
 rodes all those Countries that were yeilded to <sup>12.</sup> the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, sup-  
 posing that the new General unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edge of Winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he waigh-  
 ing that first Events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand sets out against them: whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be everie day molested with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldn'd Enemie. Lest they should make head again, he disarmes whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many Garrisons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a stout People untouch'd yet by these Warrs, as having before sought alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that brook'd not this. By thir example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily Encampe. *Ostorius*, though yet not strengthn'd with his Legions; causes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops also allighting, to assault the rampart. They within though pester'd with thir own number, stood to it like Men resolv'd, and in a narrow  
 E 2 compass

compass did remarkable deeds. But overpowered at last, and others by thir success quieted, who till then waverd, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, waisting all eeven to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handl'd; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiv'n, soon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repress'd without a set Warr. To furdur this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Souldiers* to be a firme and readie aid against revolts, and a means to teach the Natives Roman Law and Civilitie. *Cogidunus* also a *British King*, thir fast friend, had to the same intent certain Cities giv'n him: a haughtie craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures* hardie of themselves, rely'd more on the valour of *Caractacus*; whom many doubtfull, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britan*. He adding to his courage Policie, and knowing himself to be of strength inferiour, in other advantages the better; makes the Seat of his Warr among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own Partie, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every access he fortifi'd with heaps of Stones, and guards of men; to come at whom a River of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as *Camden conjectures*, had thence the name of *Caer*  
*Caradoc*

Tacit. vit.  
Agric.

*Caradoc on the West edge of Shropshire.* He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, *that this was the day, this the field either to defend their Libertie, or to die free*; calling to mind the names of his glorious Ancestors who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britan*, whose valour hitherto had preserv'd them from bondage, thir Wives and Children from dishonour. Inflam'd with these words, they all vow thir utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amaz'd the *Roman General*; but the Souldier less waighing, because less knowing, clamour'd to be lead on against any danger. *Ostorius* after wary circumspection bids them pass the River: the *Britans* no sooner had them within reach of thir Arrows, Darts, and Stones, but slew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other side closing thir ranks, and over head closing thir Targetts, threw down the loose rampiers of the *Britans*, and pursue them up the Hills both light arm'd, and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavie strokes, the *Britans* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victorie; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers also reduc'd to obedience; himself escaping to *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, against faith giv'n was to the Victors deliver'd bound: having held out against the *Romans* nine years, saith *Tacitus*, but by truer computation, seven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, eev'n

to Italy and Rome: many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the Romans Puissance: and *Cæsar* to extoll his own Victorie, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquish'd. Being brought to Rome, the people as to a Solemn Spectacle were call'd together, the Emperors Guard stood in Armes. In order came first the Kings Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Warrs, next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: he only neither in countenance, word, or action, submissive, standing at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly spake to this purpose. If my mind, *Cæsar*, had bin as moderate in the bighth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignitie was eminent, I might have come a freind rather than a Caprivo into this Cittie. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a Confederate, so Noble of Descent, and Ruling so many Nations. My present estate to me disgracefull, to thee is glorious, I had Riches, Horses, Armes, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had bin brought to yeild, my Misfortune had bin less notorious, your Conquest had bin less renowned, and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgott'n. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so neer divine, the clemency of a Conquerour. *Cæsar* mov'd at such a spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest.

rest. They all unbound, submissively thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperors Wife, who sat by in State: a new and disdain'd sight to the manly eyes of *Romans*, a Woman sitting public in her Female pride among Ensignes and Armed Cohorts. To *Ostorius* Triumph is decreed; and his Acts esteem'd equall to theirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famousest Kings. But the same prosperitie attended not his later Actions heer. For the *Silures*, whether to reveng this loss of *Caractacus*, or that they saw *Ostorius*, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, besett the Prefect of his Camp, lest there with Legionarie Bands to appoint Garrisons: and had not speedie aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Castles, had cutt them all off; notwithstanding which, the *Praefect* with eight *Centurions*, and many this stoutest Men were slaine: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with *Roman* Forragers, then with other Troops hasting to their releif, utterly foyld and broke them also. *Ostorius* sending more after, could hardly stay their flight; till the waighty Legions coming on, at first poys'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale: to the *Britans* without much loss; for by that time it grew night. Then was the Warr shiverd as it were into small frayes and bickerings; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the *Silures*, was a report of

certain words cast out by the *Emperor*, That he would root them out to the verie name. Therfore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too securely pillageing, they quite intercepted: and bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, wherof they took plentie; drew other Countries to joyne with them. These losses falling so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the thought, and anguish therof ended his daies: the *Britans* rejoycing, although no Battel, that yet adverse Warr had worne out so great a Souldier. *Cesar* in his place ordains *Aulus Didius*: but ere his coming, though much hastn'd, that the Province might not want a Governour; the *Silures* had giv'n an overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both sides greater than was true; by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he queld them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Mean time the *Silures* forgett not to infest the *Roman* pale with wide excursions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Caractacus* should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of Warr, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Brigantes* merited to be thir chief. He at first faithfull to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartismandua* Q. of the *Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Countrie to adorne the Tryumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the *Romans*, presuming

ming on the hire of her treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, conferrs on him the Kingdom also. This deed so odious and full of infamie, disturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the Example of so foul a fact, and withall the uncomliness of thir Subjection to the Monarchie of a Woman, a peece of manhood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though shee had got by futtle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of beeing able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* aid, with much adoe, and after many a hard encounter she escap'd the punishment which was readie to have seisd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the authority of ruling his own Houshold, justly turnes his anger against the *Romans* themselves; whose magnanimities not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly intermeddl'd in his domestic affaires, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adulteress against her Husband. And the Kingdom he retain'd against thir utmost opposition; and of Warr gave them thir fill: first in a sharpe conflict of uncertain event, then against the Legion of *Cassius Nasica*. Insomuch that *Didius* growing old and mannaging the Warr by Deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of *Tacit. vir.* the *Ile* things continu'd in the same plight to *Agric.* the Reign of *Vespasian*) was minded but for shame

*Tacit. Hist.* shame to have withdrawn the Roman Forces  
 3. *Sueton.* out of *Britan*: In other parts whereof, about  
 the same time, other things befell. *Verannius*,  
 whom *Nero* sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dy-  
 ing in his first Year, save a few inrodes upon  
 the *Silures*, left only a great boast behind him,  
*That in two years, had he liv'd, he would have*  
*Conquer'd all.* But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next  
 was sent hither, esteem'd a Souldier equall to  
 the best in that age, for two years together  
 went on prosperously; both confirming what  
 was got, and subduing onward. At last over-  
 confident of his present actions, and emula-  
 ting others, of whose deeds he heard from a-  
 broad, marches up as farr as *Mona*, the *Ile of*  
*Anglesey*, a populous place. For they it seems  
 had both entertain'd fugitives, and giv'n good  
 assistance to the rest that withstood him. He  
 makes him Boates with flat bottoms, fitted to  
 the shallows which he expected in that nar-  
 row Frith. His Foot so pass'd over, his Horse  
 waded or swom. Thick upon shore stood  
 severall gross bands of men well weapn'd, ma-  
 ny women like furies running to and fro in dis-  
 mal habit with hair loose about thir shoulders,  
 held Torchies in thir hands. The *Druids*, those  
 were thir Priests, of whome more in another  
 place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering  
 direfull praiers, astonish'd the *Romans*; who  
 at so strange a sight stood in a-maze though  
 wounded: at length awak'd and encourag'd  
 by thir General, not to fear a barbarous and  
 lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down  
 scorcht and rolling in thir own fire. Then  
 were

were they yok'd with Garrisons, and the places consecrate to thir bloodie superstitions destroy'd. For whom they took in Warr they held it lawfull to Sacrifice; and by the entrails of men us'd divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his thought still fix'd before, to goe on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occasion of losing more behind. For the *Britans* urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next those times of any to us extant, writes that *Prasutagus King of the Icenians* abounding in wealth had left *Cæsar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the Emperours new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a prey to Centurions, his House to rav'nish Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were by the Will and Testament of thir King thrown out of thir Estates, his Kindred made little better than Slaves. The new Colony also at *Camalodunum* took House or Land from whome they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a badge of thir eternal slavery, stood a great Eye-sore; the Priests whereof under pretext t

Dion.

text of what was due to the Religious Service, wasted and imbezl'd each mans substance upon themselves. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator endeavour'd to bring all thir goods within the compass of a new Confiscation, by disavowing the remittment of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca*, in his Books a Philosopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vast summs upon faire promises of easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compells them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provok't by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trimobantes*, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in Armes. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signes appear'd: the image of *Victorie* at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self with her face turn'd as it were to the *Britans*; certaine Women in a kind of ecstasie foretold of Calamities to come; in the Counsel-House were heard by night barbarous noises, in the Theater hideous howlings, in the Creek horrid sights betok'ning the destruction of that Colony; heerto the Ocean seeming of a bloody hew, and human shapes at a low ebb left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the *Britans* new courage, in the *Romans* unwonted fears. *Camalodunum* where the *Romans* had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortifi'd: against that therefore the *Britans* make first assault. The Soldiers within were not very many, *Decianus* the

the Procurator could send them but 200, those ill arm'd : and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favour'd the insurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench and to send out such as bore not Arms ; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the rest rifl'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to peeces ; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at these tidings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemies Countrie marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade and other commodities, a Town ev'n then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of Warr. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of *Petilius*, he chooses rather with the loss of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there ; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart ; they who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, perish'd by the Enemy ; so did *Verulam* a *Roman free Town*. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Castles, flew thither first where richest bootie, and the hope of pillageing toald them on. In this massacre, about 70 thousand *Romans* and thir associates

ciats in the places above-mention'd, of a certaine, los of othir lives. None might be spar'd, none ranstm'd, but tasted all either a present or a lingring Death; no crueltie that either outrage, or the insolence of success putt into thir heads, was left unacted. The *Romans* *Dion L. 62.* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Breasts cut off, and sow'd to thir mouths; that in the grimness of Death they might seem to eat thir own flesh; while the *Britans* fell to feasting and carousing in the Temple of *Andate* thir Goddes of Victorie. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion other old Officers, and Souldiers therabout, which gather'd to him, were neer upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to deferr Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in Front on a plain unapt for ambush: the Legionaries stood thick in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd than 200 and 30 thousand, so fierce and confident of Victorie, that thir Wives also came in Waggon to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: a folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure tok'n of prospering that day: a Woeman also was thir Commander in Chief. For *Boudicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great encouragement, that

that with the *Britans* it was usual for Woemen to be thir Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier silence, retirement, and a Vail, than for a Woeman to repeat, as don to hir own person, or to hear repeated before an host of Men. *The Greek Historian* Dis-  
setts her in the field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-bodied Gown declaiming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her bosome, which after a long circumlocution she was to let slip among them for lucks sake, then praying to *Andate the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out thir Historie with the strangeness of our manners, not careing in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Woemen were Men, and Men Woemen. I affect not set speeches in a Historie, unless known for certain to have bin so spok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unless worth rehearſal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as ſom Historians have done, is an abuse of posteritie, raising, in them that read, other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose heer or elsewhere to Copie out tedious Orationes without decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hither to what we have heard of *Cassibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Penusus*, and *Caractacus* hath bin full of magnanimitie, soberness, and martial skill:  
but

but the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole business, the *Britans* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience or estimation, either of themselves or of thir Enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seem'd likest not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a distracted Woeman, with as mad a Crew at her heeles. Therefore *Suetonius* contemning thir unruly noises, and fierce looks, heart'ns his Men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood neerest, the rest would be a purchase, rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the Legion, when they saw thir time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out thir necks to the slayer, for thir own Carts and Waggon were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The *Romans* slew all; Men, Woemen, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd along the field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About fowr-score thousand *Britans* are said to have bin slain on the place; of the Enemy scarce 400 and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyson'd her self, or, as others say, sick'n'd and dy'd. She was of Stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of bright colour flowing down to her hipps; she wore a plighted Garment of divers colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas* calls her the craftie Lioness, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings.

Dion

doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficultie, nor without intention of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come betweene. Howbeit *Suetonius* to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of Warr, lodg'd with all his Armie in the op'n field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with 1000 Horse, and 10000 Foot; thence dispers'd to Winter, and with IncurSIONS to wast those Countries that stood out. But to the *Britans* Famine was a worse affliction; having left off during this uproar; to till the ground, and made reck'n-ing to serve themselves on the Provisions of thir Enemie. Nevertheless those Nations that were yet untam'd; hearing of some discord ris'n between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to terms of peace; and the rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yeilded, taught them the better course to stand on thir defence. For it is certaine, that *Suetonius*, though else a worthie man, over-proud of his Victorie, gave too much way to his anger against the *Britans*. *Classician* therefore sending such word to *Rome*; that these severe proceedings would beget an endless Warr, *Polycletus*, no *Roman* but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examin how things went. Headmonishing *Suetonius* to use more mildness, aw'd the Armie; and to the *Britans* gave matter of Laughter. Who so much even till then were nurs'd up in thir Native Libertie, as to wonder that so great a General with

*Tacit. vii.  
Agric.*

his whole Armie should be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after having lost a few Gallies on the shoar, was bid resigne his command to *Petrus Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britans*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloath. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his steps, usurping the name of gentle Government to any remisness or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first licence, next disobedience into his Camp; incens'd against him partly for his covetousness, partly by the incitement of *Roscius Calius* Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that Civil Warr began in the Empire, he fell to op'n discord; charging him with disorder, and sedition, and him *Calius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir pay; insomuch that *Trebellius* hated, and deserted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by a base entreaty, and forc'd at length to flie the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Calius* and the other Legat of a Legion; both faithful to *Vitellius* then Emperour; who sent hither *Petrius Bolanus*; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the *Britans* nothing was done, nor in thir own Discipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Vespasian* succeeding, had to doe with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battails, and som of those, not unbloodie. For as we heard before, it was *Venusius* who even to these times

*Tacit. Hist.*  
8.1. & vit.  
*Agric.*

69.  
*Tacit. Hist.*  
2. & vit.  
*Agric.*

70

74.  
*Calvis.*

times held them rack, both himself remaining to the end, unvanquish'd, and som part of his Countrie not so much as reach't. It appears also by several passages in the Histories of *Tacit. Hist.* *3. & 7. vii.* *Agri.* *Agri-* *citus*, that no small number of *British Forces* were commanded over Sea the year before to serve in those bloodie Wars, between *Octo* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who by taming the *Silures*, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Vespasian* in his last year sent hither, train'd up from his youth in the *British Wars*, extended with Victories the *Roman Limit* beyond all his Predecessors. His coming was in the mid of Summer, and the *Ordovices* to welcome the new General, had hew'n in peeces a whole Squadron of Horse, which lay upon their bounds, few escaping. *Agricola*, who perceav'd that the noise of this defeat had alse in the Province desirous of novelty, stir'd up new expectations, resolves to be before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his Legions, with a competent number of Auxiliars, not being met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himself in the head of his men hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the same current of success, what *Paulinus* had left unfinish'd he Conquers in the *Ile of Mona*: for the Ilanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom

79.

they knew to have no Shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the Auxiliars, whose Countreie use had taught them to swim over with Horse and Armes, were compell'd to yield. This gain'd *Agricola* much opinion; who at his very entrance, a time which others bestow'd of course in hearing complements and gratulations, had made such early progress into laborious and hardest enterprises. But by farr not so famous was *Agricola* in bringing Warr to a speedie end, as in cutting off the causes from whence Warr arises. For he knowing that the end of Warr was not to make way for Injuries in Peace, began Reformation from his own House; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to sway, or have to doe at all in Public Affairs; laies on with equalitie the proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the tribute it self. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to sitt and wait the opening of public Granaries, and both to sell and to buy their Corn at what rate the Publicans thought fitt; the Fourveyers also commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the neerest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus'd, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These greevances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into som credit; which before, since the *Romans* coming, had as ill a name as Warr. The Summer following,

lowing, *Titus then Emperor*, he so continually with inrodes disquieted the Enemy over all the Ile, and after terror so allur'd them with his gentle demeanour, that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hostages, admitted Garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he spent all in worthie actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the Institutes and Customes of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and scatter'd, and by that the proner to Warr, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by praising the forward, quick'ning the slow, assisting all, turn'd the name of necessitie into an emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Witts of *Britan*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latine Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* fashions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the incitements also and meterials of Vice, and voluptuous life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher sort call'd Civilitie, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Feild, and with a prosperous expedition wasted as farr Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with such a terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Armie, though much hinder'd by tempestuous weather, had the leasure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, *Agricola* had this excel-

81.

lence in him, so providently to choole his places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Sconce, or Fortreiss of his raising was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yelided up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by seige, or in that case duly releev'd, with continual irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemie, whose manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short, and streit'n'd. For these exploits then esteem'd so great, and honourable, *Titus* in whose Reign they were atcheev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted Imperator; and of him *Agripa* receav'd triumphal honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruleing the Empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the valour of his Souldiers bin answerable, he had reach'd that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of *Britan*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*, two opposite Armes of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemie driv'n as it were into another Island. In his fift year he pass'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch Isles; discovering and subduing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britan* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Island; where one of the Irish Kings driv'n out by *Ci*

Dion.L.66.

81.

83.

vil Warrs, coming to him, he both gladly receav'd, and retain'd him as against a fitt time. The Summer ensuing on, mistrust that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forelay the passages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joyning most commonly at night on the same shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the *Britans*, not wont to see thir Sea so ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the *Caledonians* with great preparation, and by rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Armes, and of thir own accord begining Warr by the assault of sundry Castles, sent back som of thir fear to the *Romans* themselves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloaking thir fear under shew of sage advice, counsel'd the General to retreat back on this side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided also his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assaile by night with all thir Forces that part of the *Roman* Armie, which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun some Execution. When *Agriкола*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on

to affright them with clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of day the *Roman* Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the *Britans*: who now after a sharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pourfu'd a while by the *Romans*, that day else in all appearance had ended the Warr. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as farr as there was *British* ground. The *Britans* also not acknowledging the loss of that day to *Roman* Valour, but to the policy of thir Captain, abated nothing of thir stoutness, but arming thir Youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of safety, in frequent Assemblies, and by Solemn Covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the Common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *German*s having slain thir Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: and by tide or weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while thir Ships held out, and as thir skill serv'd them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britan* was an Island. The following Summer, *Agriкола* having before sent his Navie to hover on the Coast, and with sundrie and uncertaine landings to divert and disunite the *Britans*, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many *Britans*,

Dion. L. 66.

85.

*tans*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountaine *Grampius*, where the *British*, above 30000, were now lodg'd, and still increasing; for neither would thir old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practis'd in Warr, and every one adorn'd with some badge, or cognisance of his warlike deeds long agoe. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by birth and merit the prime Leader, to thir courage, though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in detestation of Servitude and the *Roman* yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight; testifi'd by thir shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the other side *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Victorie and Glorie; as much the Souldiers by his firmand well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them in this sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, stood in array before the Camp; either to seise the Victorie won without thir own hazard, or to keep up the Battaile if it should need. The *British* Powers on the hill side, as might best serve for shew and terrour, stood in thir Battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of Horsemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, stretches out his Front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions; yet he not altering,

altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on foot before the Ensignes. The fight began a-loof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with thir broad swashing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of thir Enemies; and withall to send back showers of thir own. Until *Agricola* discerning that those little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for close Fight, to draw up, and come to handy strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with thir long Tucks thrusting at the face, now with thir piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hast omitting further Execution, began apace to advance up hill, seconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horse-men fly, the Charioters mixe themselves to fight among the Foot; where many of thir Horse also fall'n in disorderly, were now more a mischief to thir own, than before a terrour to thir Enemies. The Battaille was a confus'd heap; the ground unequal; Men, Horses, Chariots crowd'd pell-mell; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a strong Body of Horse which he reserv'd

reserv'd for such a purpose, repell'd them back as fast: and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Masters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir hands one while flying the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and slew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receav'd a foyle in the midst of Victorie; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally scatter'd; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day 10000 fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of youth and the fierceness of his Horse too farr on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the spoil they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandering about the field, both Men and Women, som lamenting, som calling thir lost friends, or carrying off thir wounded; others forsaking, som burning thir own Houses; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injurie.

injurie. Next day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of thir loss receav'd; every where silence, desolation, houses burning a-farr off, not a man seen, all fled and doubtfull whither: such word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a Warr, the *Roman* General leads his Armie among the *Horestians*; by whom Hostages being giv'n, he commands his Admiral with a sufficient Navie to saile round the Coast of *Britan*: himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new-conquer'd Nations, bestows his Armie in thir Winter-quarters. The Fleet also having fetch'd a prosperous and speedy compass about the Ile, put in at the Haven

*Camden.*  
*Juvenal,*  
*Stat. 2.*

*Enrop. L.*  
7.

*Dion. L. 66.*

86.

*Trutulensis*, now *Richborrow* neer *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out: and now likeliest if not two years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might discover and subdue the Iles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason following *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great virtue was as punishable as op'n crime, won him hatred. For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devis'd his ruin. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doeing too much, of what he was sent to doe, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lucullus*, or before him som other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legat of *Britan* under *Domitian*;

tian; but furdur of him or ought else done  
 here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where  
 plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface  
 in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Histories, that  
 what *Agricola* won here, was soon after by *Do-*  
*mitian* either through want of Valour lost, or  
 through envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the  
 Poet speaks of *Arviragus* in these daies, and  
 not before, King of *Britan*: who stood so well  
 in his resistance, as not only to be talk'd of at  
*Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Tri-  
 umph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or  
 overcome him. Then also *Claudia Rufina* the  
 Daughter of a *Britan*, and Wife of *Pudence* a  
 Roman Senator liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the  
 Verse of *Martial* for beauty, wit, and learn-  
 ing. The next we hear of *Britan*, is that when  
*Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was sub-  
 dued. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, saith *Spartianus*  
*Dion*, govern'd the Island, a prime Souldier of in vit. *Had-*  
 that Age, but he being call'd away to suppress *Adrian*.  
 the Jews then in tumult, left things at such  
 pass, as caus'd the Emperor in person to take  
 a journey hither; where many things he re-  
 form'd, and, as *Augustus* and *Tiberius* coun- 122.  
 self'd, to gird the Empire within moderate *Spartianus*  
 bounds; he rais'd a Wall with great stakes *ibid.*  
 driv'n in deep, and fastn'd together, in man-  
 ner of a strong mound, 80 mile in length, to  
 divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*: no  
 ancient Author names the place, but old In-  
 scriptions, and ruin it self yet testifies where  
 it went along between *Solway Frith* by *Carlisle*,  
 and the mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quiet-  
 ed

Camden.

Pausan. archad.

Capitolin. vir. Anton.

144.

Capitolin.

Marc. Ant.

Philos.

162.

Digest. L.

36.

Beda.

ed the Iland, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coin, the Restorer of *Britan*. In his time also *Prescus Lucius*, as appears by an old inscription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever least patient of Foren servitude, breaking in upon *Genouina* (which *Camden* guesses to be *Guinebria* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman Province*, were with the loss of much territory driv'n back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edinborrow*; to hedge out incursions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the digests, had charge heer of the *Roman Navie*. With like success did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperour by his Legat *Calphurnius Agricola* finish heer a new Warr: *Commodus* after him obtaining the Empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, *Lucius* a suppos'd King in some part of *Britan*, the first of any King in *Europe*, that we read receav'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by publick Authority profess'd at: a high and singular Grace from above, if sinceritie and perleverance went along, otherwile an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true sentence, *the first shall be last*. And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King *Lucius* than common to the Nation; whole first professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of this true faith; which had appear'd more sincere and praise-

praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without publick Authority or against it, might else have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Storie is made the second by descent from *Marius*. *Marius* the Son of *Arviragus* is there said to have overthrown the *Picts*; then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Roderic* thir King; and in sign of Victorie to have set up a Monument of Stone in the Country since call'd *Westmaria*; but these things have no foundation. *Coilus* the Son of *Marius*, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as some of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receive Christianitie. From whom two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* to have *Nennius*. had the surname of *Levermaur*, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith heer known, but eev'n from the latter daies of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and thir prime Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiastic Historians can best determin: as the best of them do, with  
little

little credit giv'n to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, *Geff. Mon.* that after a long reign he was buried at *Gloster*; but dying without issue left the Kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony *Dion. L. 72.* we find that the greatest Warr which in those days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, wasted wide; and both the Army, and the Leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroy'd; which put the Emperour in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders; *Ulpus Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all nobleness of mind, frugal, temperate, mild, 183. and magnanimous, in Warr bold and watchfull, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes, what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this Warr that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperour. After whole departure the *Roman* Legions fell to sedition among themselves; 1500 of them went to *Rome* in name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he put to death *Perennius* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which complance they endeavour'd heer to set up another Emperour against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease

*Lamprid. in Comm.*

186.

please them, that once in a mutiny he was left  
 for dead among many slain; and was fain at *Capitolin.*  
 length to seek a dismission from his charge, *in Pert.*  
 After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Govern-  
 ment; but he, for having to the Souldiers *Capitolin.*  
 made an Oration against Monarchie, by the *in Alb.*  
 appointment of *Commodus* was bid resign to  
*Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in those trouble- *193.*  
 some times ensuing under the short reign of *Dion.*  
*Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to *Did. Jul.*  
 keep in his hands the Government of *Britan*, *Spartian.*  
 although *Septimius Severus* who next held the *in Sever.*  
 Empire, sent hither *Heraclitus* to displace him; *Herod. L. 3.*  
 but in vain, for *Albinus* with all the *British*  
 Powers and those of *Gallia* met *Severus* about  
*Lyons in France*, and fought a bloody Battail  
 with him for the Empire, though at last van-  
 quish'd and slain. The Government of *Brit-* *Herod. L. 3.*  
*tan*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies;  
 till then one Legat was thought sufficient; the *Digest. L.*  
 North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where *28. iiii. 6.*  
 the *Meatæ* rising in Arms, and the *Caledonians*,  
 though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, *Dion.*  
 preparing to defend them, so hard beset,  
 he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few  
 of Pris'ners with great Summs of mony. But  
 hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an  
 end his other Warrs, he writes him plainly *Herod. L. 3.*  
 the state of things heer, that the *Britans* of  
 the North made Warr upon him, broke into  
 the Province, and harraß'd all the Countries  
 nigh them, that there needed suddenly either  
 more aid, or himself in person. *Severus*  
 though now much weak'nd with Age and the

208.

209.

Gout, yet desirous to leave som memorial of his warlike achievements heer, as he had don in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons from the pleasures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers from idleness, with a Mighty Power, farr sooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britan*. The Northern People much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Embassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse thir former doings. The Emperor now loath to returne home without some memorable thing don, whereby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his answer, and quick'ns his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readines to follow them, they are dismiss't without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Moars, that his Souldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watrie places half naked. He also being past *Adrians Wall*, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fast'nd and fill'd up unsound and plashy Fens. Notwithstanding all this industrie us'd, the Enemie kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were most in straits and difficulties, sometimes training them on with

with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn with-  
in ambush cruelly handling them, that many a  
time enclos'd in the midst of sloughs and quag-  
mires, they chose rather themselves to kill such  
as were faint and could not shift away, than  
leave them there a prey to the *Caledonians*.

*Dion.*

Thus lost *Severus*, and by sickness in those noi-  
some places, no less than 50000 men; and yet  
desisted not, though for weakness carried in a  
Litter, till he had march't through with his  
Armie to the utmost Northern verge of the  
Ile: and the *Britans* offering Peace were com-  
pell'd to lose much of thir Country not before  
subject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Fron-  
tiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a  
Wall cross the Iland from Sea to Sea; which

210.

*Spartianus*  
in *Sever.*

one Author judges the most magnificent of all  
his other deeds; and that he thence receav'd  
the stile of *Britannicus*; in length 132 Miles.  
*Orosius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench,  
and between certain spaces many Towers, or  
Battlements. The place whereof som will have  
to be in *Scotland*, the same which *Lollius Ur-*  
*bicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only  
*Hadrians* work re-edifi'd; both plead Autho-  
rities and the ancient Tract yet visible: but  
this I leave among the studious of these Anti-  
quities to be discuss't more at large. While  
Peace held, the Emperess *Julia* meeting on a  
time certain *British* Ladies, and discoursing  
with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*,  
cast out a scoff against the looseness of our  
Iland Women; whose manner then was to  
use promiscuously the company of divers men.

*Estropij*  
*Peen. Oros.*  
l. 7.  
*Cassiodor.*  
*chro.*  
*Buchanan.*

Cæsar.

211.  
Spartianus  
in Sever.

Whom straight the *British* Woman boldly thus answer'd: *Much better do we Britans fulfill the work of Nature, than you Romans; we with the best men accustom op'nly; you with the basest commit private adulteries.* Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her Countrey, as when Vices are compar'd, the greater seems to justify the less, or whether the Law and Custome wherein she was bred, had wip't out of her conscience the better dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the shame; certain it is, that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, than the *Britans* take Arms again. Against whom *Severus* worn out with labours and infirmity, sends *Antoninus* his eldest Son; expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Fathers death, a safer Enemy than a Son, did the *Britans* not much detriment. Whereat *Severus* more overcome with grief than any other maladie, ended his Life at York. After whose decease *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son concluding Peace with the *Britans*, took Hostages and departed to Rome. The Conductor of all this Northern Warr *Stottish* Writers name *Donaldus*, he of *Monimonth* *Fulgenius*,

*genius*, in the rest of his Relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman Empire* declining apace, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under *Gordian* the Emperour we find by the Inscription of an Altar stone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd heer. Under *Galienus* we read there was a strong and general revolt from the *Roman Legat*. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long after took upon them the stile of Emperour, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to have ris'n or born great sway in this Iland. Whence *Porphyrius* a Philosopher then living, said that *Britan* was a soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author that makes mention of the *Stottish Nation*. While *Probus* was Emperör, *Bonofus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a *Spanyard*, though by descent a *Britan*, and a matchless drinker, nor much to be blam'd, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the *German* shipping, willingly, as was thought, mis-carried, trusting on his Power with the Western Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himself a while for Emperour; but after a long and bloodie fight at *Cullen*, vanquish't by *Probus*, he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking; *Heer bangs a Tankard, not a man*. After this, *Probus* with much wisdom prevented a new Rising heer in *Britan*, by the severe Loyaltie

242.

Camd.

Cumber.

259.

Eumen. Pat.

neg. Const.

267.

Camden.

Gildas.

Hieronym.

282.

Vopisc. in

Bonof.

Zim l. i.

of *Victorinus* a Moor, at whose entreatie he had plac't heer that Governour which rebelled. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the disloyaltie of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to set all right again, haltes hither, and finding indeed the Governour to intend Sedition, by some contrivance not mention'd in the Storie, slew him, whose name some imagine to be *Cornelius Lelianus*.

*Camd.* They write also that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gault*, and *Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having subdu'd the

*Zozimus.* *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the *Romans* when any Insurrection happen'd in the Ile. After whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Persians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to Govern among other Western Provinces this Iland with Imperial Authority; but him *Dioclesian* saluted Emperor by the Eastern Armies overcame and slew. About which time *Carusius*

283.  
*Vopisc. in*  
*Carin.* a man of low Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all militarie degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pirats, neither restoring to the owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be less than an Emperor: for fear and guiltiness in those days made Emperors

284.  
*Eutro. Oros.* offer

offer than merit: And understanding that *Maximianus Herculus*, *Dioclesians* adopted Son, was come against him into *Gallia*, pass'd over with the Navie which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the Island. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion, got into his Power the Legion that was left heer in Garrison, other Outlandish Cohorts detain'd, list'd the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the allurements of spoile invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd them to Sea-service, wherein the *Romans* at that time were grown so out of skill, that *Carausius* with his Navie did at Sea what he list'd, robbing on every Coast; whereby *Maximian*, able to come no neerer than the shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a Peace with *Carausius*, and yeild him *Britan*; as one fittest to guard the Province there against inroads from the North. But not long after having assum'd *Constantius Chlorus* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, sent him against *Carausius*; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the Land and without. *Galsfred of Monmouth* writes that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom lately come out of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: and it is observ'd that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have bin any where mentioned, and then first by *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of *Severus* with seven Castles, and a round House of smooth stone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, saith *Ninnius*, was of his Name

*Eumen Pa-*  
neg. 2.  
286.

*Victor. En-*  
trop.  
291.

*Buchanan.*

*Pan'g. 2.*

*Paneg. Si-  
gonius.*

292:

*Camd. ex  
Nin. Ex-  
men.  
Pan. 3.*

so call'd; he built also a Triumphal Arch in remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his Devotion. But *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who, ere *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his place; when he seven years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Iland. So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs: and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from several Hav'ns to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting neer the Ile of *Wight*, no sooner got a shoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismay'd, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on the shoar; but encountred by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Pratorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his Treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the *Romans*, but great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the field,

for

for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another part of the *Roman Army*, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives also and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledge thir deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius* household, to have bin don in the course of one continu'd action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: though all other allow three years to the tyranny of *Alectus*. In these days were great store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Iland, whom after the alteration of things heer, the *Aduans* in *Burgundie* entertain'd to build thir Temples and publick Edifices. *Dioclesian* having hitherto successfully us'd his valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his rage in a bloodie persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this Iland, though most remote, far enough remov'd. Among them heer who suffer'd gloriously, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caerleon* upon *Usk*; but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The Story of whose Martyrdom soild, and worse martyr'd with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not

*Eumen.**Gildan*

Author ig-  
not. post  
Marcellin.  
Valesii.

306.  
Entrop. Em-  
men. idem  
Auth. ig-  
not.

Idem vit.  
Auth. ignot.  
Enfeb.  
Const.

307  
Signon.  
311.  
Camd.

not longer digression. *Constantius* after *Diocle-  
sian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had  
*Britan* among his other Provinces; where ei-  
ther preparing or returning with *Victorie*  
from an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, he  
di'd at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happi-  
ly came Post from *Rome* to *Bolovigne* just about  
the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was  
setting sail his last time hither, and not long  
before his death, was by him on his death-bed  
nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Ar-  
my saluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and  
that seconded by most of our own Historians,  
though not those the ancientest, that *Constan-  
tine* was born in this Iland, his Mother *Helena*  
the Daughter of *Coilus* a *British* Prince, not  
sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister  
she must then be, for that would detect her  
too old by an hundred years to be the Mother  
of *Constantine*. But to salve this incoherence,  
another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Col-  
chester*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors  
give no testimony, except a passage or two in  
the *Panegyrics*, about the sense whereof much  
is argu'd: others neereſt to those times clear  
the doubt, and write him certainly born of  
*Helena*, a mean Woeman at *Naisus* in *Darda-  
nia*. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he  
seems to have had some bickerings in the  
North, which by reason of more urgent affairs  
compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after four  
years returns either to settle or to alter the  
state of things heer; until a new Warr against  
*Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatignus*  
his

his Vicegerent. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alpes*, this Iland also. But falling to Civil Warr with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother *Constantius* coming into *Britan*, seisd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his Chief Commanders, by some affirm'd the Son of a *Britan*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battails for the sole Empire; but vanquish'd, in the end slew himself. Somewhat before this time *Gratianus* *Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had Chief Command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept here. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Iland no small disturbance: a Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a *Synod* of more than 400 Bishops to Assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British*, poverty constreining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born thir charges: esteeming it more honourable to live on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the Publick stipend, but like not the poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the cruelty

*Ammian.*L. 20. &  
in eum *Val-*  
*lesius*.

340.

*Libanius in*  
*Basilico.*

343.

*Camd. ex*  
*Firmiso.*

350.

*Camden.*

353.

*Ammian.*

359.

elty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an accessory; at which enrag'd he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cæsar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long insulted, to releeve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britan*; which even then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirates hinder'd not the transportation. While *Constantius* yet Reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian*, being at *Paris*, sends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous man; who with a Power of light arm'd *Herulians*, *Ratavians*, and *Mæsians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupia* seated on the opposite shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the Warr; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian* then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happ'ning heer; only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was hither banish'd. This year *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down, and last the *Saxons* with perpetual landings and invasions harried

Libm. O.

rat. 10. 70.

rim. L. 3.

Marcel.

l. 18.

Ann. l. 22.

360.

Ann. L.

20.

364.

Ann. L.

26, 27.

harryed the South Coast of *Britan*; slew *Ne-  
taridius* who govern'd the Sea Borders, and  
*Bulcobaudes* with his Forces by an ambush.  
With which news *Valentinian* not a little per-  
plext, sends first *Severus* high Steward of his  
House, and soon recalls him, then *Jovinus*, who  
intimating the necessity of greater supplies,  
he sends at length *Theodosius*, a man of try'd  
Valour, and Experience, Father to the first  
Emperor of that Name. He with selected  
numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts,  
crosses the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupia*; from  
whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and o-  
ther Legions that arriv'd soon after, he mar-  
ches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into  
several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and  
plundering Enemy, lad'n with spoile; from  
whom recovering the booty which they led a-  
way, and were forc'd to leave there with thir  
lives, he restores all to the right owners, save  
a small portion to his wearied Souldiers, and  
enters *London* victoriously; which before in  
many straits and difficulties, was now reviv'd  
as with a great deliverance. The numerous  
Enemy with whom he had to deal, was of dif-  
ferent Nations, and the Warr scatter'd: which  
*Theodosius*, getting daily som intelligence from  
fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on  
by sudden parties and surprisals, rather than set  
Battails; nor omits he to proclaim Indemnity  
to such as would lay down Arms, and accept  
of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all this  
not ending the work, he requires that *Civilis*,  
a man of much uprightness, might be sent him,  
to

368.  
Amm. L.  
28.  
Zozim. L. 4.

to be as Deputy of the Iland, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, besetting with ambushes the roaving Enemy, repressing his Roads, restoring Cities and Castles to thir former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentius* a *Pannonian* for some great offence banish'd into *Britan*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers against *Theodosius*, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the Ile into his Power, is discover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign punishment: against the rest, *Theodosius* with a wise lenity suffer'd not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettl'd. This don, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the Confines many Strong Holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches; and so reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London Augusta*. Thus *Theodosius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five years after sent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good service were in high esteem. Against *Stratian* who

373.  
Amm. L.  
29.

who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a Spaniard, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Warrs with younger *Theodosius* (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have don something in this Island) and now General of the *Roman* Armies heer, either discontented that *Theodosius* was prefer'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Souldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple, and having attain'd *Victorie* against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the Flower and Strength of *Britan*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much difficultie, the space of five years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrow'n at length and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had giv'n them to possess, the South of *Britan* by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of *Roman* Souldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a prey to savage Invasions; of *Scots* from the *Irish* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a Bishop, made Deputy of *Britan* by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: then *Stilicho* a man of great Power, whom *Theodosius*, dying, left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortifi'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all parts hastet to releive *Honorius* then besieg'd in *Ast* of *Piemont*, by

*Zozim. L. 4*  
*Sigon.*

*Prosper. A-*  
*quintan.*  
*Chron.*  
383.

*Gildas.*  
388.  
*Beda.*  
*Ninn.*

389.

*Socrat. L. 7.*

*Claudian.*  
*de laud.*  
*Stil. l. 2. &*  
*de bel. Get.*

402.

*Alaric*

*Alaric* the *Goth*, *Britan* was left expos'd as before, to those Barbarous Robbers. Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britan* from the *Irish* Sea, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many years before had been driven all out of *Britan* by *Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* slain in fight; as thir own *Annals* report: whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and shoars as *Pirats*. But more Authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia*, long before the North of *Britan* took that name. About this time, though troublesome, *Pelagius* a *Britan* found the leaseure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by *St. Austin*. But the *Roman* Powers which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces: and perhaps *Vilforinus* of *Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Iland: if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* into a Province, he gave the occasion of thir calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have bin active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*; by *Camden*, after *Constantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the

*Erhelwerd.*  
*Sax. an.*  
*Beda Epis.*  
 in the year  
 565. and  
*Beda. L. 2.*  
 c. 4.  
 405.

the plain course of Historie. For the *Vandals* having broke in and wasted all *Belgia*, eev'n to those places from whence easiest passage is into *Britan*, the *Roman* Forces heer, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to thir heady courses, they as hastily kill : for the giddy favour of a mutining rout is as dangerous as thir furie. The like they do by *Gratian* a *British* Roman, in four Months advanc'd, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whose name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a luckiness in his name, as without other visible merit to create him Emperor. It fortun'd that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wak'n'd spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs : and with the whole force of the Province, and what of *British* was able to bear Arms, he passes into *France*, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where by the valour of *Edobetus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britan*, and partly by perswasion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Constans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cesar*, and by the conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all *Spain* to his

407.  
Zim. L. 6.

Sozom. L. 9.

Oros L. 7.

408.

409.

Sozom. L. 6.

Olympiod.  
apud Pho-  
tium.

his obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack: for he by this means alienated, set up *Maximus* one of his friends against him in *Spain*; and passing into *France* took *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* against *Constantine*; who by him incited, as by him before they had bin repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of *France*. But when *Constantius* comes, the Emperor's General, with a strong power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; where also growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his darts and other weapons were spent, he might have scap'd at a private door, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia* whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend *Alanus*, as were agreed; next his Wife, though loath and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to outlive her Husband, he dispatches: for which her resolution *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastic Writer gives her high praise, both as a Wife, and as a Christian. Last of all against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal place, with his ponyard finishes the work. Thus farr is pursu'd the Story of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Historians. As for

*Constantine,*

*Constantine*, his ending was not answerable to his setting out: for he with his other Son *Julian* belieg'd by *Constantius* in *Arles*, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death; having four years acted the Emperor. While these things were doing, the *Britans* at home destitute of *Roman* aid, and the chief strength of thir own youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Constantine*, not returning home, vext, and harass'd by thir wonted Enemies, had sent messengers to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they might for thir own safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Jurisdiction. They therefore thus relinquish't, and by all right the Government relapsing into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after thir own Laws, defending thir bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*; who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britan*, soon after in *Italy* it self: having born chief sway in this Iland, though never throughly subdu'd, or all at once in subjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of discharge into *Britan*, the space of 462 years. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western

Beda.

Zozim. L. 6.

Procopius Vandalic.

Calvis. Sign.

stern World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and ee'vn Language it self, all these together, as it were, with equal pace diminishing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of Authors; neer anough to the things they write, as in thir own Countrie, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: this we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and strook with Superstition as with a Planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no better, must be follow'd; in gross it may be true anough; in circumstance each man as his judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a severall Relation.

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*The End of the Second Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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BOOK III.

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**T**His Third Book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary, as the intermission or change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late Civil Broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the Imperial Jurisdiction departing hence, left them to the sway of their own Councils; which times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confus'd Anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raise a

H 3

knowledge

knowledge of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the *Britans* generally are in matters of so high enterprise, how by nature, industry, or custom fitted to attempt or undergoe matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high Point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries, and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly, and come off miserably in great undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in Warrs abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves through long subjection, servile in mind, sloathful of body, and with the use of Arms unacquainted, sustain'd but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a shew of diligence in thir new affairs, some secretly aspiring to Rule, others adoring the name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to use and maintain True Libertie, they soon remitted thir heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of thir own Libertie, than before under a Foren Yoak. In-  
somuch

*Gild. Beda.*  
*Malins.*

*Zozim. L.*  
6.

somuch that the residue of those *Romans* which  
 had planted themselves heer, despairing of thir  
 ill deportment at home, and weak resistance  
 in the field by those few who had the courage,  
 or the strength to bear Arms, nine years after  
 the sacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britan* in-  
 to *France*, hiding for haste great part of thir  
 Treasure, which was never after found. And  
 now again the *Britans*, no longer able to sup-  
 port themselves against the prevailing Enemy,  
 sollicit *Honorius* to thir Aid, with mournful  
 Letters, Embassages and Vows of Perpetual  
 Subjection to *Rome*, if the Northern Foe were  
 but repuls't. He at thir request spares them  
 one Legion, which with great slaughter of the  
*Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Bor-  
 ders, rescu'd the *Britans*, and advis'd them to  
 build a Wall cross the Iland, between Sea and  
 Sea, from the Place where *Edenburg* now stands  
 to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Al-*  
*cluitb*. But the material being only Turf, and  
 by the rude multitude unartificially built up  
 without better direction, avail'd them little.  
 For no sooner was the Legion departed, but  
 the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great  
 numbers from thir Boats and Pinaces, wast-  
 ing, slaying, and treading down all before  
 them. Then are Messengers again posted to  
*Rome* in lamentable sort, beseeching that they  
 would not suffer a whole Province to be de-  
 stroy'd, and the *Roman* name, so honourable  
 yet among them, to become the subject of bar-  
 barian scorn and insolence. The Emperor, at  
 thir sad complaint, with what speed was pos-  
 sible

418.  
*Esbelwerd.*  
*annal. Sax*

*Gildas.*

422.  
*Diaconus.*  
*L. 14.*

*Beda. L. 1*  
*c. 2.*

*Gildas.*

423.

sible sends to thir succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with a terrible slaughter. They who escap'd, fled back to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad'n with booties. But the *Romans* who came not now to Rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of thir Affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage thir own warfare; and to defend like men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer than life, thir Liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if thir own sloath and cowardise had not made them so; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive bonds.

*Bede. ibid.*

*Gildas*

They gave them also thir help to build a new Wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions) traversing the Ile in direct line from East to West, between certain Cities placed there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the South shoar, because from thence also like hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea side at certain distances, for safety of the Coast. Withall they instruct them in the Art of Warr, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating words,

words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda*, and *Diaconus*, the two last years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as som modernly write, was *Gallio of Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of *Sabellic*. his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots* after thir second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durstus* King of *Picts*, both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britan*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbably sided with them against his own Countrie, hardlie escaping. With no less exactness of particular circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuarie invasions of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britan*, as if they had but yesterday happen'd, thir order of Battel, manner of Fight, number of Slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be beleev'd for bare assertions, however quaintlie drest, than our *Geofry of Monmouth* when he varies most from authentick storie. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond zeal of praising thir Nations above truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what

Gildas.  
Beda.

what they think may either best set off thir Historie, or Magnifie thir Countrie. The *Scots* and *Picts* in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoile, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return, from the *Gorroghs*, or Leathern Frigats pour out themselves in swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very Wall side, then first took possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a Famin, and from thence Discord and Civil Commotion among the *Britans*: each man living by what he rob'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only sustainment. To the heaps of these evils from without, were added new divisions within the Church. For *Agri-cola* the Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britans* not uninfected before. The sounder part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, notable to refute him, crave assistance from the Churches of *France*: who send them *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*,

Beda.  
Constant.

*Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is written, confirm'd som, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a public Disputation put to silence thir Chief Adversaries. This Reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cause of thir success a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joynt Force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any dwelling in this Iland, during this abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a strong impression from the North. The *Britans* marching out against them, and mistrusting thir own Power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in thir own thousands arm'd. They came, and thir presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Armie had come to second them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the people instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receave Baptism. There was a place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with boughs upon *Easter-day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britans* were tak'n up with Religion more then with feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victorie. *Germanus* who also had intelligence of thir approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out with selected Troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley compass't about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing

429.

Pros.

Aquit.

Matb. West.

ad ann.

446.

430.

Constant.

vit. Germ.

placing there his ambush, warns them that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Souldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Hoast, throw themselves into flight, casting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victorie, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of spoile, and to the person and the preaching of *Germanus* greater Authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if *Constantius*, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the *British* Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before in the Land, we read not, or that *Pelagianism* was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire* by a Town call'd *Guid-cruc*, and the River *Allen*, where a field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But so soon as *Germanus* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though now so many of them Christians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by *Celestine* the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing mischief to thir Neighbours; where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore

*Uss. Pri-*  
*mord. p.*  
333.

431.  
*Prosp.*  
*Aquit.*

*Ethelwerd.*  
*Florent.*  
*Gild. Bede.*

fore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Ile, send Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Consul of *Rome*, with this superscription; *To Ætius thrice Consul, the groanes of the Britans.* And after a few words thus, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea.* But the Empire at that time overspread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in thir own strength, but in Divine assistance. And perhaps no other heer is meant than the foresaid deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long heer, the Writers of his Life assent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the *Scots* or *Irish* Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Iland, using

*Malsbury*  
*L. i. c. i. p.*  
8.

446.

*Gildas.*

using now and then to make inroads upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus ridd of their Enemies, begin afresh to Till the Ground; which after cession yeilds her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly bin known for many Ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if *Gildas* deserve belief, all other Vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the Land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for good, wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as virtue. And this quality thir valour had, against a Foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the search of Truth, weak and shallow, in falsehood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weigh'd alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were don contrary to Public Welfare and Safety; nor only by Secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness; or swoln with pride and willfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges

Judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with judgment, and for manners thus qualify'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to chuse them several Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of Gods anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death by thir anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the *Romans* had quite deserted thir claim. About which time also *Pe-*<sup>447.</sup>  
*lagianism* again prevailing by means of some *Constant-*  
few, the *British* Clergie too weak, it seems, at *Beda.*  
dispute, entreat the second time, *German* to thir assistance. Who coming with *Severus* a Disciple of *Lupus* that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all <sup>448.</sup>  
were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them *Sigon.*  
over with him, dispos'd of them in such place *Gildas.*  
where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But *Germanus* the same year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no  
flight

*Malmf. L.*  
1.

flight rumour that thir old troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a strong invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But ere thir coming in, as if the instruments of Divine Justice had bin at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation; the Pestilence forestalling the Sword left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessioners, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter farr. And yet the *Britans* nothing better'd by these heavy judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of thir King *Vortigern* with complaints and cries of what they suddenly fear'd, from the *Pictish* Invasion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the death first of *Constantine*, then of *Constans* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Constantine* with his Son *Constans* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæsar*, perish'd in *France*, may discern the simple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to Reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the people much belov'd, because his Vices sort'd so well with theirs. For neither  
was

was he skill'd in Warr, nor wise in Counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to to all vice; wasting the publick Treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general Council, to provide some better means than heertofore had been us'd against these continual annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britan* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all thir Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witness that military force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd heer purposely against them, under a special Commander, whose title, as is found, on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* shoar *Notitie imperij.* in *Britan*; and the many mischiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witness as much. They were a people thought by good Writers, to be descended of the *Saca*, a kind *Florent.* of *Scythian* in the North of *Asia*, thence call'd *Wigorn. ad an. 370.* *Sacasons*, or Sons of *Saca*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and using Piracy from *Denmark* all along these Seas,

I

*Eschelwerd.*

Seas, possess'd at length by intrusion all that Coast of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying between the *Rhine* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Fidora*, the River bounding *Holsatia*, though not so firmly, or so largely, but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such guests as these the *Britans* resolve now to send for, and entreat into thir houses and possessions, at whose very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater : as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one mi-

*Eschelwerd.* sery to another. The *Britans* therefore, with *Malsbur.* *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over *Witichind.* them all, resolve in full Council to send Embassadors to thir choicest men with great gifts, *gest. Sax.* and saith a *Saxon* Writer in these words, desiring thir aid. *L. 1. p. 3.* *Worthy Saxons, bearing the fame of your prowess, the distressed Britans wearied out, and overprest by a continual invading Enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a Land fertile and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your selves; and therefore become suppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our present Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly*

lingly we shall submit. Yet *Ethelwerd* writes not that they promis'd subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief *Malmf.* rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the *Britans*, to that which gladly they would have wish'd to obtain of them by entreating, to the *British* Embassy return this *Witichind.* answer. Be assur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of faithful friends to the *Britans*, no less ready to stand by them in thir need, than in thir best of fortune. The Embassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to thir Countrie, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. The *Saxons*, consult- *Gildas.* ing first thir Gods (for they had answer, that the Land whereto they went, they should hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a chos'n company of war-like youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his acts, most Kings of those Nations derive thir pedigree. These, and either mixt with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring people, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleswich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arriv'd in the first year of *450.* *Adartian* the Greek Emperor, from the birth of *Nennius.* Christ 450, receav'd with much good will of *Malmf.* the People first, then of the King, who after some assurances giv'n and tak'n, bestows on them the Ile of *Tanet*, where they first land-

ed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager against the *Picts*, when they fought as for thir own Countrie, and more loyal to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *British Nennius* writes, that these Brethren were driv'n into exile out of *Germany*, and to *Kortigern* who reigned in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambrosius*, came opportunely into the Hav'n. For it was the custome in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous off-spring overflow'd the narrowness of thir bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings, where-ever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't. But whether fought, or unfought, they dwelt not heer long without employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, som say, as far as *Stamford* in *Linconschire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new oppolition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: slaying in fight, as som *Scotch* Writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengist* perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants giv'n to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with seventeen Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without suspicion on these terms, that they should bear the brunt of War against the *Picts*, receaving stipend and som place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a  
 Virgin

*Malmsh.*

*Henry Huntingd.*

*Esbelwerd.*

*Bed. Nin.*

*Ninn.*

Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Romen* the *British* call her: she by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in presence with a Bowle of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his Fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to the drift, held off, excusing his meaneness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it streit by donation: though *Guoramongus* till then was King of that place: and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the Kings favour, got further leave to call over *Ossa* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would sit there as a continual defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sayling with forty Ships cev'n to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Ile which is now *Northumberland*. *Gild. Bede. Ninn.* Notwithstanding this they complain that thir monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the *Britans* found means to satisfy, though alleging withall that they to whom promise was made of wages, were nothing so many in number, quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault

fault next, that thir pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatning op'n Warr unless it be augmented. *Guortimer* the King's Son perceaving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, wasted without resistance almost the whole Land ev'n to the Western Sea, with such a horrid devastation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Priests and People slain, Temples and Palaces what with Fire and Sword lay altogether heap'd in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfullness that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other than lew'd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtak'n in the Mountains were slain; others subdn'd with hunger preferr'd slavery before instant death; som getting to Rocks, Hills and Woods inaccessible, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the shame of a secure slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; som into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or seisd on by those *Britans* in thir escape from *Hengist*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as som think, with *Britans* long before; either by guift of *Constantine* the Great, or else of *Maximus* to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Forein Warrs; to whom those also that

*Primord.*  
pag. 418.

*Mulmsb. L.*  
T. C. I.  
*Huntingd.*  
L. I.

that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*: and lastly, these exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for refuge. But the antient Chronicles of those Provinces attest thir coming thether to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britan* in *France* is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of Fugitives, who had quitted without stroke thir own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to som part of thir own settl'd there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by these Calamities, grew at last so obdurat as to commit incest with his Daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clerics*, and *Laics*, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire*, by the advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheless *Faustus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begott'n, under the instructions of *German*, or some of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a Religious man, and liv'd in devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easie to subdue the Ile, with most of thir Forces, uncertain for what cause, return'd home: when as the easiness of thir Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortemir*. For he coming to Reign, instead of his Father de-

*Ninn.*  
*Malmsb.*

*Ninn.*

*Gildas.*

*Ninn.*

pos'd for Incest is said to have thrice driv'n and besieg'd the Saxons in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them fowr other Battells, whereof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the *British* part *Catigern* the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third in a Field by *Stonar* than call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have so scap'd, and not venturing to Land again for five years after. In the space whereof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his bones lying there would be terror enough to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: They, saith *Nennius*, neglecting his command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning these times, anti-entest Annals of the Saxons relate in this manner. In the year 455 *Hengist* and *Horsa* fought against *Vortigern*, in a place call'd *Eglestbrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horsa* lost his life, of whom *Horsted*, the place of his burial, took name. After this first Battel and the death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Esa* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who also then or not long after possess'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hampshire* lying opposite. Two years after in a fight at *Creganford*, or *Crasford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew of the *Britans* four Chief Commanders, and as many thousand men: the rest in great disorder

435.  
Bede.  
Ethelwerd.  
Florent.  
Annal. Sax.  
The King-  
dome of  
Kent.

437.

order flying to *London*, with the total loss of *Kent*. And eight years passing between, he made new Warr on the *Britans*; of whom in a Battel at *Weppeds-fleet*, twelve Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last encounter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to thir Enemies. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related; and happ'ning, besides many other bickerings, in the space of twenty years, as *Malmsbury* reck'ns. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withall in *Kent*, thir own allotted dwelling, and somtimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleet* seems to intimat. But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the Government: and *Hengist* thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restorement of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son-in-Law, now that the only Author of dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The King, both for his Wives sake and his own sottishness, consulting

465.

473.

*Nennius.*

Malmsh.

Nin. ex le-  
gend.  
St. Ger.  
Galfrid.  
Menmouth.

ing also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the place of parly is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose meaning was not peace but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britans* were thoroughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatch'd with those *Poniards* every one his next man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. Who thus dismiss'd, retiring again to his solitary abode in his Country of *Guorthgirnium*, so call'd by his name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in *North-Wales* by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by fire from Heav'n, at the Prayer, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint, or of thir own accord, after much mischief don, most of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of revenging themselves the easier  
on

on those that staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modest man, the last heer of *Roman* stock, advancing now onward against the late *Victors*, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk: who both lost thir lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the expresse words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having heer born regal dignity, were slain in these *Pictish* Warrs and Commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a *Roman* Consul; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore sought his life; yet the youth no sooner had confess'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britan*; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to surest Authors, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n.

This

This is certain, that in a time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against thir whole powers, the second time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambrose* as Chief Monarch of the Ile succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his daies, saith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: against whom *Arthur*, as being then Chief General for the *British* Kings, made great Warr; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, than in true stories. And the sequel it self declares as much. For in the year 477 *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cissa*, at a place in *Sussex* call'd *Cymenshore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britans*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds League*. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherein *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* makes it so doubtful, that the *Saxons* were constrain'd to send home for supplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengist* the first *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness or civility. His Son *Oeric* surnam'd *Oisc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oiscings*, succeeded him, and sate content with his Fathers winnings; more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reign'd twenty four

*Nenn.*

477.  
*Sax. An.*  
*Ethelw.*  
*Florent.*

485.  
*Florent.*  
*Hunting.*

489.  
*Malmsh.*

*Bed. L. 2.*  
*c. 5.*

# Book III. The History of England.

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four years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Cissa*, beseiging *Andred-chester*, suppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword. Thus *Ella* three years after the death of *Hengist*, began his Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holstein* in *Denmarke*, and had besides at his Command all those Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this side *Humber*. Animated with these good successes, as if *Britan* were become now the field of *Fortune*, *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince, the tenth by Linage from *Woden*, an old and practis'd Souldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the Enemy in those parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-shoar*, with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same day overthrew the *Britans* that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. After him *Porta* another *Saxon* with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth* thence call'd, and at thir landing slew a young *British* Nobleman, with many others who unavisedly set upon them. The *Britans* to recover what they had lost, draw together all thir Forces led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britan*, and the greatest, saith one; but him with 5000 of his men *Kerdic* puts to rout and slaies. From whence the place

in

492.

*Camden.*  
The King-  
dome of  
*South-Sax-*  
*ons.*

*Bed. L. 1. c.*  
*15 & L.*  
*2. c. 5.*

*Sax. An.*  
*omn.*

495.

501.

*Sax. an.*  
*omn. Hunt.*

508.

*Ann. omn.*  
*Huntingd.*  
*Camden.*

*Camd. Off.  
primord.*

§14.  
*An. omn.*

*Huntingd.*

The King-  
dome of  
*East-Angl.*

in *Hants*hire, as farr as *Kirdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*. Who this King should be, hath bred much question; som think it to be the *British* name of *Ambrose*; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the *Welch* Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Britan* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for so also the *Monmouth* Book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. *Kerdic* by so great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desir'd to make great; for which cause; and withall the more to strengthen himself, his two Nefews *Stuf*, and *Withgar*, in three Vessels bring him new levies to *Kerdic* shoar. Who that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by thir own seeking, or by appointment, are set in place where they could not but at thir first coming give proof of themselves upon the Enemy: and so well they did it, that the *Britans* after a hard encounter left them Masters of the field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Cissa* his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him. Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa* the eighth from *Woden* made himself King of the *East-Angles*; who by thir name testifie the Country above mention'd; from whence they came

came in such multitudes, that thir native soil *Malmf. L.*  
 is said to have remain'd in the daies of *Beda* *1. c. 5.*  
 uninhabited. *Huntingdon* deferrs the time of *Bed. L. 1.*  
 thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic's* *c. 15.*  
 Reigne: for saith he, at first many of them *Huntingd.*  
 strove for principality, seising every one his *L. 2. p. 313.*  
 Province, and for some while so continued, ma- *315.*  
 king petty Warrs among themselves; till in *Bede. L. 2.*  
 the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *c. 15.*  
*Uffings*, overtop'd them all in the year 571, *Malm. L. 1.*  
 then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, *c. 6.*  
 who became potent. And not much after the  
*East-Angles*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *The King-  
dome of  
East-Sax.*  
*Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have  
 it later by eleven years, and *Erchenwin* to be  
 the first King. *Kerdic* the same in power, *519.  
The King-  
dome of  
West-Sax.*  
 though not so fond of Title, forbore the name  
 twenty four years after his arrival; but then  
 founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Sax-  
ons*, that it subjected all the rest at length, and  
 became the sole Monarchie of *England*. *The Sax. an.  
omn.*  
 The same year he had a Victory against the *Britans*  
 at *Kerdics-Ford*, by the River *Aven*: and after *527.*  
 eight years, another great fight at *Kerdics  
League*, but which won the day is not by any  
 set down. Hitherto hath bin collected what  
 there is of certainty with circumstance of time  
 and place to be found register'd, and no more  
 than barely register'd in Annals of best Note;  
 without describing after *Huntingdon* the man-  
 ner of those Battels and Encounters, which  
 they who compare, and can judge of Books,  
 may be confident he never found in any cur-  
 rent

rent Author whom he had to follow. But this disease hath bin incident to many more Historians: and the Age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be furcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Warrs in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the *British* Valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foyl'd not seldom-er than the *Britans*. For besides that first Victory of *Ambrose*, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells that the last overthrow which they receav'd at *Badon* Hill, was not the least; which they in thir oldest Annals mention not at all. And because the time of this Battel, by any who could do more than guess, is not set down, or any foundation giv'n from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such Authors as we have to follow, give the conduct and praise of this exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the last of twelve great Battells which he fought victoriously against the *Saxons*. The several places writt'n by *Nennius* in thir *Welch* names, were many hunder'd years ago unknown, and so heer omitted. But who *Arthur* was, and whether ever any such reign'd in *Britan*, hath bin doubted heertofore, and may again with good reason. For the Monk of *Malmsbury*, and others whose credit hath sway'd most with the learned sort, we may well

*Nenn.*

well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years past, nor of his doings, than we now living; And what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already bin related. Or out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than 600 years after the daies of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent; both Foreign and Domestic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old Legends and Cathedral registers. But he who can accept of Legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only necessaries, leasure and beleif, whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to *Artur*, no less is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his Notist avers, that *Artur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a Child, and the intent of his name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that som in after Ages who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the word *Uther* into a proper name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person liv'd, till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* set him off with the surname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that Victory at *Badon Hill* were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in  
K the

*Caradoc.*  
*Llancar-*  
*von. vit.*  
*Gildas.*

*Malmsb.*  
*Antiquit.*  
*Glaston.*  
 529.

*Primord.*  
 pag. 468.  
*Polychro-*  
*nic. L. 5.*  
 c. 6

the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melwas* King of that Country which is now *Summerfet*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole year in the Town of *Glaston*, and restor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather than for any enforcement, that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make against a small Town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in War, or the force he had to make, bin answerable to the same they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd such an affront, nor he bin so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his suppos'd reign, which began, as som write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long war the Countries of *Summerfet*, and *Hamsbire*; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of those great Acts that are ascribed him. This only is alleg'd by *Nennius* in *Artur's* behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquish't never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that valour may be over-toil'd, and overcome at last with endless overcoming. But as for this Battell of Mount *Badon* where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or beseig'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have giv'n a most undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have stop'd thir proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himself witness-

sing

sing that the *Britans* having thus compell'd them to sit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let in some light toward the searching out when this Battel was fought. And we shall find no time since the first *Saxon* Warr; from whence a longer peace ensu'd, than from the fight of *Kerdics Leage* in the year 527, which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and gave us argument from the custom they have of magnifying thir own deeds upon all occasions, to presume heer his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, eev'n to the 44th year after, wherein *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little Warr between the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This *Gildas* only remains difficult; that the Victory first won by *Ambrose*, was not so long before this at *Badon* Seige, but that the same men living might be eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unless we reck'n him a grown youth at least in the daies of *Ambrose*, and much more than a youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the exploits of *Ambrose*, to have bin don cheiffy by *Artur* as his General, which will add much unbelief to the common assertion of his reigning after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the fight at *Badon* being the last of his twelve Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at *Kerdics Leage*, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all effects; *Kerdic* three years

Sax. an.  
omn.

534.

544.

years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; which with the slaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he soon maisters; and not long surviving, left it to his Nefews by the Mothers side, *Stuff* and *Withgar*; the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 26 years, in whose tenth year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelihoods of *Artur's* Reign and great Achievements, in a narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeoland*, and all the North-East Iles as far as *Russia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eastern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britan*. When should this be done? from the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battels, he had no rest at home; after those, the *Britans* contented with the quiet they had from thir *Saxon* Enemies, were so far from seeking Conquests abroad, that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to Civil Warrs at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repress thir flowing hither, than to have won Kingdoms as far as *Russia*, scarce able heer to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Historian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the deeds of *Artur*, yet what he wites thereof himself, as of better credit, shows

shews not whence he had but from those Fables; which he seems content to beleive in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have assisted *Arthur* in all his Wars and Atchievements, whereof appears as little ground by any credible story, as of that which he most counts Fabulous. But not further to contest about such uncertainties. In the year 547, *Ida* the *Saxon*, sprung also from *Woden* in the tenth degree, began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *Bebbanburg*, which was after wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengist* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had sent *Ossa* and *Ebissa* to seek them seats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to secure the Southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those Countries; and though so far distant from *Kent*, nor without power in thir hands, yet kept themselves nigh 180 years within moderation; and as Inferiour Governours, they and thir off-spring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the example of that Age; when no less than Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of thir Nation, to assume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the first, a man in the prime of his years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aspiring or by free choise, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his ver-

347.  
The King-  
dome of  
Northum-  
berland.  
An. omni.  
Bed. Epir.  
Alalmsb.

M. Jmsf.

tures made him not less Noble than his birth, in Warr undaunted, and unfoil'd; in Peace tempring the aw of Magistracy, with a natural mildness: he raign'd about twelv years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a fight at *Searesbirig*, now

552. *Annal omn.* *Salsbury*, kill'd and put to flight many of the

556. *Camden.* *Britans*; and the fourth year after at *Beran-*  
*dirig*, now *Banbury*, as som think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to flight. *Keaulin*

560. *Annal.* shortly after succeeded his Father in the *West-*  
*Florent.* *Saxons*. And *Alla* descended also of *Woden*,

but by another Line, set up a second Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty years; while *Adda* the Son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd with-

561. out other memory in *Bernicia*: and in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next year began. For *Esca* the

Son of *Hengist* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to Rule after him; both which without adding to thir bounds, kept what they had in Peace fifty three years. But *Ethelbert* in length of

*Malmsb.* Reign equal'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three years exceeded. Young at

his first entrance, and unexperient'd, he was the first raiser of Civil Warr among the *Sax-*  
*ons*; claiming from the priority of time wher-

in *Hengist* took possession here, a kind of right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to thir Confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadfull, became almost contemptible.

*Ann. omn.* For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, persuing him  
568. into his own Territory, slew there in Battel,

at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oslac*, and *Cneb-*  
*ban*.

ban. By this means the Britans, but chiefly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the space of forty four years ending in 571, receav'd no great annoyance from the Saxons: but the peace they enjoy'd, by ill using it, prov'd more destructive to them than War. For being rais'd on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thralldome, they whose Eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by *Ambrose*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magistrates, Priests, and private men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, *Gildas*. unacquainted with past Evils, and only sensible of thir present ease and quiet, succeeded, strait follow'd the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men: scarce the least footstep, or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the Land; except in som so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And first thir Kings, among whom also, the Sons or Grand-Children of *Ambrose*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and Vicious Life. Whereof to hear som particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, faith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they swear oft, but perjure; they wage Warr, but civil and unjust Warr. They punish rigorously them that rob by the high way; but those grand Robbers that sit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They

give alms largely, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of Judgment, but go seldom by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominablest crimes; they stuff thir Prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention, than any just cause. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the same pass or rather worse, than when the *Saxons* came first in; Unlearned, Unapprehensive, yet impudent; suttile Prowlers, Pastors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themselves: not call'd, but seiling on the Ministry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge: teaching the People, not by sound Doctrin, but by evil Example: usurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the blindness of thir own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the Seat of *Judas*: deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies: looking on the poor Christian with Eyes of pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame: great promoters of other mens Alms with thir set Exhortations; but themselves contributing ever least; slightly touching the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own greivances, as done to Christ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the Church more than after Heav'n; and so gain'd, make it thir whole study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of

no use in thir eminent places, they have thir-  
ajiceties and trival points to keep in awe the  
superstitious multitude; but in true saving  
knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid  
as themselves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay  
forbidding and silencing them that know; but  
in worldly matters, practis'd and cunning  
Shifters; in that only Art and Symony, great  
Clercs and Maisters, bearing thir heads high,  
but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes  
them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and  
daily Drunkards. And what shouldest thou  
expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes  
on, these beasts, all belly? shall these amend  
thee, who are themselves laborious in evil  
doings? shalt thou see with their Eyes, who  
see right forward nothing but gain? Leave  
them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall  
both blind-fold into the same perdition. Are  
all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly.  
But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himself blame-  
less, while he conniv'd at others that were  
abominable? who of them hath bin envi'd  
for his better life? who of them hath hated  
to consort with these, or withstood thir en-  
tering the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously  
thir casting out? Yet some of these perhaps  
by others are legended for great Saints. This  
was the State of Government, this of Religi-  
on among the *Britans*, in that long calm of  
Peace, which the fight at *Badon Hill* had  
brought forth. Wherby it came to pass, that  
so fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns  
and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay  
ruin'd

Primord.

p. 444.

ruin'd and waste; nor was it long e're domestic Warr breaking out, wasted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then also several Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name; First *Constantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Artur's* half Brother by the Mothers side) who then Reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and bloody King, polluted also with many Adulteries: He got into his Power, two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in Right, or otherwise suspected: And after Solemn Oath giv'n of thir safety; the year that *Gildas* wrote, slew them with thir two Governours in the Church, and in thir Mothers Armes, through the Abbots Coap, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the Reverence of his Vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly suppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Artur's* Nefew, said to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his deaths wound, and by him after to have bin slain. Which things were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in *Constantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of so false a *Mordred*. In another part, but not express'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King: him he charges also with Adulteries, and Parricide; Cruelties worse than the former; to be a hater of his Countries Peace, thirsting after Civil War and Prey. His condition it seems was not very prosperous; for *Gildas* wishes him, being

ing now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity, and arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely death in thir youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of falshood, and cruel Actions. In his latter daies, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in divorce, he became, if we mistake not *Gildas*, incestuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbrü'd in Civil Warr; he also had divorc'd his Wife, and taken her Sister, who had vow'd Widdowhood: he was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last but greatest of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in wickedness; he had driv'n out or slain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his seat in *Anglesey*; a profuse giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: then touch't with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation took upon him the profession of a Monk; but soon forfook his Vow, and his Wife also, which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brothers Son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that entic'd, found means both to dispatch her

own

own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man reputed of all *Britan*, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the *Britans* from the time of thir useles Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to say, as may be guess't, from 527 to 571, is here set down all together; not to be reduc't under any certainty of years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the most part all this while had bin still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this side *Wales*.

571.  
*Camden.*  
*Ann. omn.*

For *Cutbulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburb*, *Besington*, now *Benson* in *Oxfordshire*, and *Ignesham*; but outliv'd not many months his good success. And after six years

577.

more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great overthrow at *Deorrbam* in *Glostershire*, slew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of thir Cheif Cities; *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, and *Badenchester*. The *Britans* notwithstanding, after

584.

some space of time, judging to have out-grown thir losses, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and as is said, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire.

retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout, and following his advantage, took many Towns, and return'd laden with rich booty. The last of those Saxons who rais'd thir own acheivments to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, first founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were, in my opinion, to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose. This may suffice, that of *Wodens* three Sons, from the Eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his succession; from the second, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that Reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and most of the *Northumbers*, of whom *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which, after his death, the Race of *Ida* seis'd, and made it one Kingdome with *Bernicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla's* Son, whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expell'd. Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the *Britans*, e're they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some manhood; for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, *Wodens Mount* in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole

Army,

*Huntingd.*

The Kingdome of *Mercia*.

*Huntingd. Mat. West.*

*Malms. L. 1. c. 3.*

*Florent. ad ann.*

559.

588.

*Ann. om.*

592.

*Florent.*

*Bed. L. 2.*

c. 3.

Malmsb.

Florent.

Sax. An.

Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next year in poverty, who a little before was the most Potent and indeed Sole King of all the Saxons on this side *Humber*. But who was Chief among the *Britans* in this Exploit, had bin worth remembring, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whose prowess hath bin spok'n, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Register of *Landaff* recounts to have bin alwaies victorious in fight; to have Reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the Saxons had reduc'd to extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himself receav'd a mortal wound. The same year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cutbulf*, *Keaulins* Brother succeeded, *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Etbelfred*, in the room of *Ethelric*; Reigning twenty four years. This omitting Fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britan*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations, brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation; driv'n, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountanous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity profess't,

feſt, than Chriſtian Faith and Religion diſhonoured by unchriſtian works. Yet they alſo at length renounc'd thir Heatheniſm; which how it came to paſs, will be the matter next related.

Y R O T S I H

ВРЕМЯ

## B O O K

*The End of the Third Book.*

*The End of the Third Book:*

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

**T**HE Saxons grown up now to seven Absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by succession, finding thir Power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the Britains, and as little fearing to be dis-planted by them, had time now to survey at leaseure one anothers greatness. Which quickly bred among them, either envy, or mutual jealousies ; till the West Kingdom at length grown over Powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of Kent, who by this time had well rip'nd his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains ; and



them, pittying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some who stood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* so like to Angels should be snatch'd *de ira*, that is, from the wrath of God, to sing *Hallelujah*: and forthwith obtaining licence of *Benedict* the Pope, had come and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* People, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him then on his journey, though but deferr'd his pious intention. For a while after, succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth year, admonisht, saith *Beda*, by divine instinct, he sent *Augustine* whom he had design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on thir way, discouraged by some reports, or thir own cartial fear, sent back *Austin*, in the name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with Pious and Apostolic perswasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of Divine Assistance. The Letter it self yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastic Story, I omit heer, as not professing to relate of those Matters more than what mixes aptly

aptly with Civil Affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was Ordain'd over the rest; rein-  
courag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his  
Fellows by the Letter which he brought them,  
came safe to the Ile of *Tanet*, in number about  
forty, besides som of the *French* Nation whom  
they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the  
King, to whom *Austin* at his landing had sent  
a new and wondrous Message, that he came  
from *Rome* to proffer Heav'n and Eternal Hap-  
piness in the knowledge of another God than  
the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain  
where they landed, and necessities to be pro-  
vided them, consulting in the mean time what  
was to be done. And after certain days com-  
ing into the Iland, chose a place to meet them  
under the open Sky, possess'd with an old per-  
swasion; that all Spells, if they should use any  
to deceive him, so it were not within doors,  
would be unavailable. They on the other side,  
call'd to his presence, advancing for thir Stand-  
ard, a silver Cross, and the painted Image of  
our Saviour, came slowly forward singing thir  
Solemn Letanies: which wrought in *Ethelbert*  
more suspicion perhaps that they us'd enchant-  
ments; till sitting down as the King will'd  
them, they there preach'd to him, and all  
in that Assembly, the tidings of Salvation.  
Whom having heard attentively, the King  
thus answer'd. Fair indeed and ample are the  
promises which ye bring, and such things as  
have the appearance in them of much good;  
yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot  
hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which

597.

from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canterbury* his chief City, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of thir holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the City, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of *St. Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer: in which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray: Heer they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise Divine Worship. But when the King himself, convinc't by thir good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was Baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of thir arrival, then Multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckn'd among those of his Faith. To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had bin

398.

Bed. L. 2.

bin taught by them who were both the Instru-  
ctors and the Authors of his Faith, that Chri-  
stian Religion ought to be voluntary, not com-  
pell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of  
*Cutha Keaulins* Brother reign'd over the *West-*  
*Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and  
had continual War either with *English*, *Welch*,  
*Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom with his  
Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a  
better place for thir abode in the City, and  
other possessions necessary to livelihood, cros-  
sing into *France*, was by the Arch-bishop of  
*Arles*, at the appointment of Pope *Gregory*,  
Ordain'd Arch-bishop of the *English*: and re-  
turning, sent to *Rome* *Laurence* and *Peter*, two  
of his associates, to acquaint the Pope of his  
good success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of  
certain Theological, or rather Levitical que-  
stions: with answers to which, not proper in  
this place, *Gregory* sends also to the great  
work of converting, that went on so happily,  
a supply of labourers, *Mellitus*, *Iustus*, *Pauli-*  
*nus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what  
they were, may be guess't by the stuff which  
they brought with them, vessels and vestments  
for the Altar, Coaps, Reliques, and for the  
Arch-bishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in: to  
such a rank superstition that Age was grown,  
though some of them yet retaining an emula-  
tion of Apostolic Zeal: Lastly, to *Ethelbert*  
they brought a Letter with many Presents.  
*Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal Autho-  
rity, recover'd from the ruins and other pro-  
fane uses, a Christian Church in *Canterbury*,

*Sax. An.*  
*Malmsh.*  
601.  
*Bed. L. 1.*  
c. 27.

598.

Bed. L. 2.

.. 5.

from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canterbury* his chief City, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of thir holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the City, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer: in which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray: Heer they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise Divine Worship. But when the King himself, convinc't by thir good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was Baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of thir arrival, then Multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among those of his Faith. To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had  
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rity, recover'd from the ruins and other pro-  
fane uses, a Christian Church in *Canterbury*,

Bed. L. 2.  
c. 34.

603.

built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christs Church*, and joyn-  
ing to it built a seat for himself and his succes-  
sors; a Monastery also neer the City East-  
ward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built  
*St. Peters*, and enrich't it with great Endow-  
ments, to be a place of burial for the Arch-  
bishops and Kings of *Kent*: so quickly they  
step't up into fellowship of Pomp with Kings.  
While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had thir  
minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian*  
King, was not less busied in far different Af-  
fairs: for being altogether warlike, and co-  
vetous of Fame, he more wasted the *Britans*  
than any *Saxon* King before him; winning  
from them large Territories, which either he  
made tributary, or planted with his own Sub-  
jects. Whence *Edan* King of those *Scots* that  
dwelt in *Britan*, jealous of his successes, came  
against him with a mighty Army, to a place  
call'd *Degsastan*; but in the fight losing most  
of his men, himself with a few escap'd: only  
*Tbeobald* the Kings Brother, and the whole  
wing which he commanded, unfortunately  
cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* less in-  
tire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in  
hostile manner durst pass into *Britan* for a  
hundred and more years after: and what some  
years before, *Kelwulf* the *West-Saxon* is annal'd  
to have don against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing  
through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so Po-  
tent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not  
likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, as-  
sisted by *Keaulin*, whom he mis-titles King of  
East-

*East-Saxons*, had before this time a battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha Keaulin's* Son was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better Authority, was slain in fight against the *Welch* twenty years before. The number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* Ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* and *Justus*, sent them out both to the work of thir Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose Conversion *Ethelbert* to grätulate, built them the great Church of *St. Paul* in *London* to be thir Bishops Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Possessions. Hitherto *Austin* labour'd well among Infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* ſummoning the *Britan* Bishops to a place on the edge of *Worceſterſhire*, call'd from that time *Augustines Oak*, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of Celebrating *Eaſter*, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by diſpute, he appeals to a Miracle, reſtoring to ſight a blind man whom the *Britans* could not cure. At this ſomething mov'd, though not minded to recede from thir own Opinions, without further conſultation, they request a ſecond meeting: to which came ſeven *Britan* Bishops, with

many other learned men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receav'd in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britans*, as they were counsel'd by the Holy Man, neglected him, and neither harkned to his proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Arch-Bishop; And in name of the rest, *Dmothus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the subjection which you require, he thus perswaded of us, that in the Bond of Love and Charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by  
word

*Spelman.*  
*Cuncil.*  
pag. 108.

word and deed, to be the Childern of God: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters. To which *Austin* thus pre-fating, som say menacing, replies, Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your brethren, ye shall have Warr from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life, to whom ye ought, from thir hands ye shall receive death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For many years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert*, incens't by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westche-ster*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both sides in readines to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for Warr, standing together in a place of som safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learnt upon some enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three dayes fasting to pray for the good success of thir Forces against him, therefore they first, saith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by thir prayers, and are our dangerourest enemies. And with that turns his first charge upon the Monks: *Brocmail* the Captain

*Sax. An.  
Huntingd.  
607.*

Captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty escap'd, but not so easie work found *Ethelfrid* against another part of *Britans* that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own souldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting Arch-bishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. Other just Ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geffry Monmouth*, whose weight we know. The same year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, saith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of the *South*: and four years after dying left the Government of *West-Saxons* to *Kinglis* and *Cuichelm* the Sons of his Brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent of Worster*, and *Mathew of Westminster*, will have *Cuichelm* Son of *Kinglis*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third year they are recorded with joyn't Forces or conduct to have fought against the *Britans* in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have slain of them above two thousand. More memorable was the second year following, by the death of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no less a favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the example of *Roman Emperors*, written with the advice of his sagest Counsellors,

*Malmsh.*  
*gest. Pont.*  
1. 1.

*Sax. An.*

611.

*Sax. an.*  
*Malmsh.*

614.

*Camden.*  
616.

*Sax. an.*

Counsellors, but in the *English* Tongue, and observ'd long after. Wherein his special care was to punish those who had stoln ought from Church or Churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he receav'd at thir hands the Christian Faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the course as fast to extinguish; not only falling back to Heathenism, but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his Fathers second Wife. Then soon was perceav'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the King had profess't Christianity, returning now as eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor staid the Apostasie within one Province, but quickly spread over to the *East-Saxons*; occasion'd there likewise, or set forward by the death of thir Christian King *Sebert*: whose three Sons, of whom two are nam'd, *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life *Malmsb.* time would be brought to baptism, and after his decease re-establish'd the free exercise of Idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves in despight to do some op'n profanation against the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Bishop was ministring, they requir'd him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the Consecrated Bread; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of thir dominion. Who cross'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the same plight, and thence into *France*, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine vengeance deferr'd not long the punishment of men so impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit,

Spirit, fell oft'n into foul fits of distraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a fight against the *West-Saxons* perish'd, with thir whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Arch-Bishop and Successor of *Austin* was preparing to ship for *France*, after *Justus* and *Mellitus*, the Story goes, if it be worth beleev'ing, that Saint *Peter*, in whose Church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the King (to whom next morning he shew'd the marks of what he had suffer'd, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear dissolv'd his incestuous marriage, and appli'd himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, with all his people. But the *Londoners*, addicted still to Paganism, would not be perswaded to receive again *Mellitus* thir Bishop, and to compell them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North parts disquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and joyn'd that Kingdome to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his right, whose known virtues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his Enemies, sends Messengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *East-Angles*; under whose protection, after many years wandring obscurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his

his safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into thir hands : but earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the *Malmsh.L.* Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and *i. c. 3.* refuge giv'n, prefers his first promise as the more Religious ; nor only refuses to deliver him ; but since War was therupon denounc't, determines to be beforehand with the danger ; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprises *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invasion, and in a fight neer to the East-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottinghamshire*, slays *Camden*, him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him ; who yet as a testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own hands *Reiner* the King's Son. His two Sons *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, by *Acca*, *Edwin's* Sister, escap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became so far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert* ; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side *Humber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptism, but coming *Bed. L. 2. c. 15.* home, and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his Chief Counseller to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion ; yet not willing to forgoe his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either,

either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retain'd the Christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; subduing all, saith *Beda*, *English* or *British*, eeven to the *Iles*; then call'd *Mewanian*, *Anglesey*, and *Man*; sett'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he sought in marriage *Edelburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whose Embassadors, *Eadwald* her Brother made answer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Household she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would embrace it. These ingenuous offers, op'ning so fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a spiritual Guardian sent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpose made Bishop by *Iustus*, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year, *Cuthelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, envious of the greatness which he saw *Edwin* growing up to, sent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to assassinate him; who under pretence of doing a message from his Master, with a poison'd Weapon, itabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *York-shire*, on an Easter-day; which

*Lilla*;

*Lilla*, one of the Kings Attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole body to the blow ; which notwithstanding made passage through to the King's Person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from misbeleif, obtain'd at length this promise from him ; that if Christ, whom he so magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and Victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion ; who with twelve others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound ; to punish the Authors of so foul a fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons* : whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put some to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worship'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest ; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleif. But while he still deferr'd, and his deferring

ferring might seem now to have past the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleiv'd, coming to the knowledge of a secret, which befell him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he remembred what that sign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze rising up, straight fell at his Feet. Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the ground; God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity, add Eternal. The promise claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatening over-aw'd, having promis'd to yeild up *Edwin*, one of his faithfull Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in hast to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of sadness

sadness and perplext thoughts, discerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who, after salutation, ask'd him why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his sitting within doors, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why sitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and perswade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any *English* King hath bin before you? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known? would you hark'n to his Counsel? *Edwin* without stopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his right hand on *Edwin*'s head, When this sign, saith he, shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd; and with these words disappearing, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the Friend who had bin gon all this while to list'n furdur what was like to be decree'd of *Edwin*, comes back, and

M

joyfully

joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the King's mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish't by the Bishop of a sign which had befalln him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from Heav'n, to claim that promise of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine Power that had assisted him in his troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes answer, that the Christian Beleeif he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would conferr first with his Cheif Peers and Counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therefore being ask'd in Counsel what thir Opinion was concerning this New Doctrine, and well perceaving which way the King inclin'd, every one thereafter shap'd his reply. The Chief Priest speaking first, discover'd an old grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the Kings Favour above him thir Chief Priest: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choise of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none op'nly dissenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing

Heathenism,

Heathenism, became Christian: and the Pagan Priest, offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods; made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Osfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, Daughter, as saith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the People, both Nobles and Commons, easily Converted, were Baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christ'nd, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Lindsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Household and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the Roof in *Beda's* time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, saith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from *Penda Wibba's* Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his Age: with whom *Kindegis* and *Cuichelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two year after, having by that time it seems recover'd strength, since the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirencester*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receav'd, perswaded *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *East-Angles*, to imbrace the same beleef; willingly or in

627.

629.  
Sax. An.

632.

*Sax. An.* aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long surviv'd his Conversion, slain in fight by *Ricbert* a Pagan: whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, as lightly fell back to thir old superstitions for above three years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Vertue, by the due administration of Justice, wrought such peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travail'd in safety. His care also was of Fountains by the way side, to make them fittest for the use of Travellers. And not unmindful of Regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having Reign'd with much Honour seventeen years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian Pinda*, had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son *Osfrid*, at a place call'd *Hethfeild*, and his whole Army overthrown or disperst in the year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *British* King, though in name a Christian, yet indeeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian.

For

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For the *Britans*, and, as *Beda* saith, eev'n to his daies, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these Calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethelburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwin's* Captains, made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: who receaving his Sister with all kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdome of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightful Heir ſeiſing his part; in *Deira* *Oſric*, the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwin's* Uncle, by profeſſion a Chriſtian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oſwald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No ſooner had they gott'n each a Kingdome, but both turn'd recreant, ſliding back into thir old Religion; and both were the ſame year ſlain; *Oſric* by a ſudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a ſtrong Town had unadviſedly beſeig'd; *Eanfrid* ſeeking Peace, and inconsideratly with a few ſtrren-dering himſelf. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both thoſe Provinces, uſing cruelly his Conqueſt; when *Oſwald* the Brother of *Eanfrid* with a ſmall but Chriſtian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and deſtroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boaſted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, neer the antient *Roman* Wall then

634.

call'd *Denisburn*, the place afterwards *Heav'n field*, from the Cross reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oswald* there erected before the Battail, in tok'n of his Faith against the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdome, he took care to instruct again the People in Christianity. Sending therefore to the Scottish Elders, *Beda* so terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptism, requested of them some faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late troubles had impar'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, send *Aidan* a Scotch Monk and Bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to assist him, whom at thir own desire he seated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopal Seat, now *Holy Iland*: and being the Son of *Ethilfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwin's* Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather; over all the four *British Nations*, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exercising Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Almes-deeds, much is spok'n; that he disdain'd not to be the interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in *Scotch* or bad *English*, to his Nobles and Household Servants; and had the poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of private or of Church contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time, the *West-Saxons*, antiently call'd *Gevissi*,

*Geuissi*, by the preaching of *Berinus*, a Bishop, whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Kineplis* thir King: him *Oswald* receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in marriage. The next year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester*, but liv'd not to the years end. The *East-Angles* also this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for som years past they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpmald* now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet Reign'd, living in *France* an exile, for some displeasure conceav'd against him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his People, by the preaching of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Bishop. In the year 640 *Eadbald* deceasing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Enima* the *French* King's Daughter; the Kingdom of *Kent*; Recorded the first of *English* Kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without exception; and the first to have establisht *Lent* among us, under strict penalty, not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was observ'd heer till his time by compulsion; especially being noted by som to have fraudulently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whose right was precedent to the Crown. *Oswald* having Reign'd eight years, worthy also as might seem of longer life, fell into the same fate with *Edwin*, and from the same hand, in a great Battel overcom and slain by

636.

640.

Mar. West.

642.

Camden.

Bed. L. 3.

c. 14.

643.

Sax. An.

*Penda*, at a place call'd *Maserfield*, now *Oswestry*, in *Shropshire*, miraculous, as faith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty eight years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brothers Son *Ethilwald*. Next year *Kingils* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having learnt in *France*, e're his coming to Reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the assistance of som Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School here after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first Founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical Life; commending the care of Government to his Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that burden before. It happen'd som years after, that *Penda* made Warr on the *East-Angles*: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his presence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refusing carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having married the Sister of *Penda*, and divorc't her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause

645.

Sax. An.

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cause vanquish'd in fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former years of his Reign, had sharer with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* seven years, commended much for his zeal in Religion, and for comeliness of person, with other Princely qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, dissentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd Friend, he was by him treacherously discover'd, and by command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within twelv days, and for grief of him whose death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekness, and labour in the Gospel. The fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the place where it was don, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the slain and the slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time reinstall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great losses: and in 652 by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelmerd* calls it) at *Bradansford* by the River *Asene*; against whom, and for what cause,

664.

651.  
Bede.

Bede. L. 3.

c. 7.

652.

633.

cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by the *River Avon*, and *Cuthred* his neer Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* four years before had giv'n large possessions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next year *Peada*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that people converted to the Faith. For coming to *Qsm* with request to have in marriage *Alfreda* his Daughter, he was deni'd her but on condition, that he with all his People should receive Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much persuaded also by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Sister *Kymburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the truths sake only as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the people of his Province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Believer, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or beleve the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to believe, attested not thir Faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they choose to beleve. How well might *Penda* this Heathen rise up in judgment

ment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these daies! yet being a man bred up to War (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, perhaps without cause, for *Anna* was esteem'd a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who as above hath bin said, had expell'd thir Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Oswi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert* surnam'd the *Small*, being the Son of *Seward*, without other memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Segebert* the Second, who coming oft'n to visit *Oswi* his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from Idolatry, and convinc't at length to forsake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching with some help of others, the people were again recover'd from misbelief. But *Sigebert* some years after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a deed so hainous, gave no other than this barbarous answer; that they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir injuries whenever they besought him. Yet his death seems to have happen'd not without some cause by him giv'n of Divine displeasure. For one of those Earls  
who

654.  
Sax. An.

who slew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at meat with him, the King not regarding this Church censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had don, and saln at his feet, touch'd with the rod in his hand, and angerly thus foretold : Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die : and so it fell out, perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing witness to his Minister in the power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner therof. This year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oswi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oswi* by the continual Inroads of *Penda*, having long endur'd much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Bamborow* Castle, unable to resist him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but destruction to that King, though more than once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelve portions of land whereon to build Monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his proffer'd gifts ; for heerupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a small power, he

*Bed. L. 3.*  
*c. 16.*  
*Gand.*

he encounter'd and discomfited the *Mercians*, *Campen.*  
 thirty times exceeding his in number, and led  
 on by expert Captains : at a place call'd *Loy-*  
*des*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. Besides this *Ethel-*  
*wald*, the Son of *Oswald*, who rul'd in *Deira*,  
 took part with the *Mercians*, but in the fight  
 with-drew his Forces, and in a safe place ex-  
 pected the event : with which unseasonable  
 retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrifi'd and mis-  
 doubting more danger, fled ; thir Command-  
 ers, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, a-  
 mong whom *Edelbere* the Brother of *Anna*,  
 who rul'd after him the *East-Angles*, and was  
 the Author of this War ; many more flying  
 were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls  
*Winwed*, then swoln above his Banks. The *Mat. West.*  
 death of *Penda*, who had bin the death of so  
 many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as  
 the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*,  
*Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelbere* succeeded  
*Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East-Angles* ; to  
*Sigeber* in the *East-Saxons*, *Suidhelm* the Son of  
*Sexbald*, faith *Bedē*, the Brother of *Sigeber*, *Bed. L. 3.*  
 faith *Malmsbury* ; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, *c. 22.*  
 then residing in the *East-Angles*, and by *Ethel-*  
*wald* the King, receav'd out of the Font. But  
*Oswi* in the strength of his late Victory, with-  
 in three years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of *Sax. An.*  
 the *Pictish* Nation greatest part, at which time  
 he gave to *Peada* his Son in Law the Kingdom  
 of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern  
 by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as  
 was said, by the Treason of his Wife the *Sax. An.*  
 Daughter of *Oswi*, married by him for a spe-  
 cial

cial Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Oswi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be thir King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britans*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somerſetſhire*, and overcoming perſues them to *Pedridan*. Another fight he had with them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornesbrug*; barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmsbury*.

661.

Bede. An.

Nor was it long e're he fell at variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at *Roſſentesburg*, on the *Easter* Holy-days, and as *Ethelwerd* ſaith, took him Priſner; but the *Saxon Annals*, quite otherwiſe, that *Wulfer* winning the field, waſted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskeſdun*; nor ſtaying there, took and waſted the Ile of *Wight*, but cauſing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then unbelievers, gave the Iland to *Ethelwald* King of *South-Saxons*, whom he had receav'd out of the Font. The year 664 a Synod of *Scotch* and *English* Biſhops, in the preſence of *Oſwi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery in thoſe parts, to debate on what Day *Easter* ſhould be kept; a Controverſie which long before had diſturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yeilding to the

Diſputants

664.

Bede.

Disputants on that side, to whom the King most inclin'd, such as were Bishops here, resign'd, and return'd home with thir Disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of Crowns. The same year was seen an Eclips of the Sun in *May*, followed by a sore Pestilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great mortality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Malmf.* *Smitbelms* decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the *Small*, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his People unstedie of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Ferumannus* a faithful Bishop, who with other his fellow Labourers, by sound Doctrin and gentle dealing, soon recur'd them of thir second relaps. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Echert*. In whose fourth year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned *Greekish* Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had Ordain'd Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, with other Liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomie, and the like; began first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did also the whole Land, under Potent and Religious Kings, more than ever before, as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. Two years after, in *Northumberland* dy'd *Osui*, much addicted

668.

*Sax. Ann.*

670.

*Sax. Ann.*

to

- to *Romish* Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease releas'd him, to have ended his days at *Rome* :  
 673. *Eefrid* the eldest of his Sons begot in Wed-  
*Sax. Ann.* lock, succeeded him. After other three years,  
*Ecbert* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memo-  
*Malmsb.* rable behind him, but the general suspicion  
 to have slain or conniv'd at the slaughter of his  
 Uncles two Sons, *Elbert*, and *Egelbright*. In  
 recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother  
 of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an  
 Abbey ; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lo-  
 thair*. And much about this time, by best ac-  
 count it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*,  
 that *Ecfrid* of *Northumberland*, having Warr  
 with the *Mercian* *Wulfer*, won from him *Lind-  
 sey*, and the Country thereabout. *Sebbi* hav-  
 ing Reign'd over the *East-Saxons* thirty years,  
 not long before his death, though long before  
 desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk ;  
 and drew his Wife at length, though unwill-  
 ing, to the same Devotion. *Kenwalk* also dy-  
 ing, left the Government to *Sexburga* his  
 Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one year,  
 driv'n out, saith *Mat. West.* by the Nobles;  
 674. disdaining Female Government. After whom  
 several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for  
 ten years space divided the *West-Saxons* ; o-  
 thers name two, *Escwin* the Nephew of *Kini-  
 gils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by their  
 deeds : for *Escwin* fought a Battel with *Wulfer*,  
 at *Bedanhasde*, and about a year after both de-  
 ceas'd ; but *Wulfer* not without a stain left be-  
 hind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London*,  
 to *Wini* the first *Simonist* we read of in this Sto-  
 ry ;

ry; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Winchester*; *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recoverd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfrid* some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, wasting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endamaging the City of *Rocheſter*: Notwith-  
Bed. L. 4.  
c. 12.  
 standing what resistance *Lothair* could make against him. In *Auguſt* 678 was ſeen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in  
678.  
 manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were Converted to the Christian Faith, upon this occaſion: *Wilfrid* Biſhop of the *Northumbrians* entring into contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Biſhoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length  
679.  
 into *England*, but not daring to approach the North, whence he was baniſh'd, bethought him where he might to beſt purpoſe elſewhere exerciſe his Miniſtery. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edelwalk* thir King not long before had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, perſuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath bin ſaid, receav'd out of the Font. For  
Bed. L. 4.  
c. 13.  
 which Relations ſake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining,  
Camden.  
 giv'n him on the Continent about *Meaneſborough* in *Hantſhire*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalk*: Thether *Wilfrid* takes his journey, and with the help of other

Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three years before in that Country, whence many of the people daily perish'd by Famin; till on the first day of thir public Baptism, soft and plentiful showers discending, restor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two years after this, *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britans*, as is Chronicl'd without circumstance, to the very Sea shoar. But in the year, by *Beda's* reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britans*) thrown out by faction, return'd from banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of *Kenwalk*, slaying in fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in thir aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the Provence in thir power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the successor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdom: But reduc'd the People to heavy thraldome. Then addressing to Conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, saith *Beda* (others otherwise, as above hath bin related). In a lea vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fowrth part of that Iland, and the spoils thereof, to holy uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his vow as then was the beleef, he gave his fowrth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present; and he

to

681.  
*Sax. Ann.*

682.  
*Sax. an.*

*Bed. L. 4.*  
*c. 15.*

*Malmsh.*

684.

*Bed. L. 4.*  
*c. 16.*

to Bertwin a Priest, his Sisters Son, with commission to baptise all the vanquisht, who meant to save thir lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Iland, met with much more hostility; for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Ile, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after instruction and Baptism first giv'n them, harshly put to death, which the Youths are said above thir Age to have Christianly suffered. In *Kent*, *Lotbair* dy'd this year of his wounds receav'd in fight again the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent Death, left the land expos'd a prey either to home-  
685.  
Malmsh.  
 bred Usurpers, or neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking advantage from thir Civil Distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harra's'd the Country, untouch'd of long time by any hostile incursion. But the *Kentish* men, all parties uniteing against a Common Enemy, with joyn't power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the fight with twelv men  
Sax. An.  
Malmsh.  
 of his Company, seeking shelter in a House, was beset and therin burnt by the persuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disorder'd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chafeing Enemy;  
685.

687.

Bede.

nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Vitfred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfred* the *Nor-thumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a fore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherin *Elfwine* Brothe. to *Ecfred*, a Youth of eighteen years, much belov'd, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, Peace was happily made by the grave exhortation of Arch-Bishop *Theodore*, a pecuniary fine only paid to *Ecfred*, as som satisfaction for the loss of his Brother's life. Another adversity befell *Ecfred* in his Family, by means of *Etheldrith* his Wife, King *Anna's* Daughter, who having tak'n him for his Husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelve years in the obstinat refusal of his bed, therby thinking to live the purer life. So preverfly then was chastity instructed against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd seven years after the Pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedlock, though now canoniz'd St. *Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfred* had sent *Bertus* with a Power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the *English*;  
in

in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this day: miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallowed or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfrid*. For he the next year, against the mind and perswasion of his sagest freinds, and especially of *Cudbert* a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had bin subject to *Northumberland*, was by them, feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights overtopt with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, saith *Bede*, military valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but some part of the *Britans* also recover'd by Arms thir Liberty for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrid*, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his Brother's Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his Kingdome. *Kedwalla*, having now with great disturbance of his Neighbours, Reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receave Baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferr'd, and accordingly, on *Easter Day*, 689, he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. All

689.

which notwithstanding, surpris'd with a Disease, he outliv'd not the Ceremony so far fought, much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of St. *Peter* was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppress'd the Land with like greevances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no Bishop among them. His first Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Victred* loath to hazard all for the rash act of a few, deliver'd up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great sum of money. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Priest, eminent for Learning, past over Sea, having twelv others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin* Chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his countenance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of Conversion much the easier, and *Wilbrod* the first Bishoprick in that Nation. But two Priests, each of them *Hemald* by name, and for distinction furnish'd from the colour of thir Hair, the Black and the White, by his example, piously affected to the Souls of thir Country-men the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thether to convert them, met with much worse entertainment.

For

*Malm.S.x.  
an. Ethel-  
werd.*

624.

For in the House of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discover'd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of thir coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcherd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such violence offerd to his Strangers, sending armed Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Ostred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's* Epitome Records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. And the year following, *Bertred* a *Northumbrian* General was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* seven years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and relign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Osfred* a Child of eight years to succeed him. Four years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the residue of his daies. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People; and such his Vertue by report, as might have otherwise bin worthy to have

697.

686.

704.

705.

709.

- Reign'd. Ina the *West-Saxon* one year after fought a Battel, at first doubtfull, at last successfull, against *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and slaughter'd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full avengement of *Ecfrið's* Death. The fowrth year after, Ina had another doubtfull and cruel Battel at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the year following a lamentable death: for as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly possess'd with an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Ments*, an *English* man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of Kin, who succeeded him. *Ofred* also the young *Northumbrian* King, slain by his Kindred in the eleventh of his Reign, for his vitious life and incest committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd. He reigning two years left *Ofric* in his room. In whose seventh year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Vitred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd thirty four years, and some part of them with *Suebbard*, as *Beda* testifies. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs. Three years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two weeks in *January*, bending thir blaze toward the North, at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow.

710.

Sax. An.  
Hunting.

711.

Bede. Epit.

715.

Sax. An.

Sax. an.  
Hunting.

716.

718.

L. s. c. 9.

725.

728.

throw. The same year in *Northumberland*, *Osric* dying or slain, adopted *Kelmulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Successor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the process of his Reign met with many adverse commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* seven years before, having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n usually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquish't also the *East-Angles* in more than one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year, whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, *Malmsbury* saith, at the persuasion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his days; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown; No less than the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we beleieve a digression in the Laws of *Edward Confessor*, was the first King Crown'd of *English* and *British*, since the *Saxons* entrance; of the *British* by means of his second Wife, some way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a surer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this side *Humber*, with thir Kings:

the

the *Picts* were in League with the *English*, the *Scots* peaceable within thir bounds, and the *Britans* part were in thir own Government, part subject to the *English*. In which peaceful state of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of Arms, betook them to the Cloister : and not content so to do at home, many in the days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Women, hasting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were Cloisterd there. Thus representing the state of things in this Iland, *Beda* surceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath bin gatherd, since the *Saxons* arrival, such as hath bin deliverd, a scatterd story pickt out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles ; toward the latter end so bare of Civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a Calendar rather than a History, tak'n up for the most part with succession of Kings, and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what cause wag'd, or by what Counsells carried on, no care was had to let us know : wherby thir strength and violence we understand, of thir wisdom, reason, or justice little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation ; Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run thir heads fondly into a Monks Cowle : which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was  
wanting

wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Danish* Invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of *Beda*. Left only to obscure and blockish Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they than we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of thir own: them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* must be acknowledg'd, both for stile and judgment, to be by far the best Writer of them all: but what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbish in the rest, *Florence* of *Worster*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Howeden*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and many others of obscurer note, with all their Monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they Register. This travel rather than not know at once what may be known of our Ancient Story, sifted from Fables and Impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all thir life time, raking in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals: But to my Task now as it befalls. In the year 733, on the 18<sup>th</sup> Kalends of September, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third howr of day, obscureing almost his whole Orb, as with a black

733.  
Sax. An.  
Eibel-  
werd.

735.  
738.  
*Malmsh.*

a black shield. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia*, beseig'd and took the Castle or Town of *Somerton* : and two years after, *Beda* our Historian dy'd, som say the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest, for he brought those Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale ; in which Doctrine no doubt but they were soon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of Land, recited by *Simon*, yet all under pretense of following (I use the Authors words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary poverty : no marvel then if such applause were giv'n by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert* his Uncle's Son he left the Kingdom, whose Brother *Ecbert*, Arch-bishop of *York* built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was busied in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the supplement of *Beda's* Epitomy records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Edelfard* who succeeded *Ina*, having bin much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oswald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those Troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cutbred* one of the same Linage to succeed him : who at first had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various success, but joyning with him in League two years after, made War on the *Welch* : *Huntingdon*

741.  
*Malmsh.*  
*Sax. Ann.*  
743.  
*Sim. Dun.*

*tingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports, another Battel fought between *Britans* and *Picts* the year ensuing. Now was the Kingdom of *East-Saxons* drawing to a Period, for *Sigeard* and *Senfred* the Sons of *Sebbi* having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who soon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath *Sax. Ann.* bin said, the Government was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the good, who having Rul'd thirty eight years, came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom *Swithred* was the last King, driven out by *Ecbert* the *West-Saxon*: but *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they also were dissolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine years, when *Kinric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a *Sax. Ann.* military tumult slain by his own Souldiers. The same year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his stead. But after two years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whose War with the *Picts* hath bin above-mention'd, made now such Progress there, as to subdue *Kyle*, so saith the Auctarie of *Bede*, and other Countries thereabout, to his dominion; while *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon* had a fight with *Ethelhun*, one of his Nobles, a stout Warriar, envi'd by him in some matter of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be understood (others interpret it Sedition) and with much adoe overcoming, took *Ethelhun* for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelf

744.  
*Hoveden.*  
*Malmsh.*

746.

748.

*Huntingd.*  
 750.

*Huntingd.*  
 752.  
*Camden.*

OR

- or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a set Battel with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian* at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*; one year after against the *Welch*, which was the last but one of his life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes a terrible description of that fight between *Cuthbred* and *Ethelbald*, and the Prowess of *Ethelbun*, at *Beorford*, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and both in that and the latter conflict, gives Victory to *Cuthbred*; after whom *Sigebert*, uncertain by what right, his Kinsman, saith *Florent*, step'd into the Throne, whom hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, *Kinwulf* joyning with most of the Nobility, dispossest of all but *Hamshire*, that Province he lost also within a year, together with the love of all those who till then remain'd his adherents, by slaying *Cumbran*, one of his Chief Captains, who for a long time had faithfully serv'd, and now dissuaded him from incensing the People by such Tyrannical practices. Thence flying for safety into *Andreds* Wood, forsak'n of all, he was at length slain by the Swineherd of *Cumbran* in revenge of his Maister, and *Kinwulf* who had undoubted right to the Crown, joyfully saluted King. The next year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian* joining forces with *Unust* King of the *Picts*, as *Simneon* writes, beseig'd and took by surrender the City *Alcluith*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lennox*, from the *Britans* of *Cumberland*; and ten days after, the whole Army perished about *Niwanbirig*,

Sax. Ann.

754.  
Malmsh.

755:

Hunting.

Hunting.

756.  
Ganden.

*birig*, but to tell us how, he forgetts. In *Mer-Camden*  
*cia*, *Ethelbald* was slain, at a place call'd *Secan-* 757.  
*dune*, now *Seckington* in *Warwickshire*, the year *Sax. Ann.*  
 following, in a bloody fight against *Cuthred*, as  
*Huntingdon* surmises, but *Cuthred* was dead *Epit. Bed.*  
 two or three years before ; others write him *Sim. Dun.*  
 murder'd in the night by his own Guard, and  
 the Treason, as som say, of *Beornred*, who suc-  
 ceeded him ; but ere many Months, was de-  
 feated and slain by *Offa*. Yet *Ethelbald* seems  
 not without cause, after a long and prospe-  
 rous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent death ;  
 not shameing on the vain confidence of his  
 many Alms, to commit uncleanness with con-  
 secrated Nuns, besides Laic Adulteries, as the  
 Arch-bishop of *Ments* in a letter taxes him and  
 his Predecessor, and that by his Example most  
 of his Peers did the like ; which adulterous  
 doings he foretold him were likely to produce  
 a slothful off-spring, good for nothing but to  
 be the ruin of that Kingdom, as it fell out not  
 long after. The next year *Osmund*, according 758.  
 to *Florence*, ruleing the *South-Saxons*, and *Swi-*  
*thred* the *East*, *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, fol-  
 lowing the steps of his Predecessor, got him  
 into a Monks Hood ; the more to be won-  
 der'd, that having reign'd worthily twenty  
 one years, with the love and high estimation  
 of all, both at home and abroad, able still to  
 Govern, and much intreated by the Kings his  
 Neighbours, not to lay down his charge ; with  
 offer on that condition to yield up to him part  
 of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd  
 from his resolution, but relinquish'd his Regal  
 Office

*Sim. Dun.*  
*Eccles. L.*  
 2.

759. Office to *Oswulf* his Son; who at the years end, though without just cause, was slain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*, Son of *Vikfred*, the second of that

762. name in *Kent*. After *Oswulf*, *Ethelwald*, other-

*Sim. Dun.* wife call'd *Mollo*, was set up King; who in his

*Mat. West.* third year had a great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, slew *Oswin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory. But the third year after,

765. fell by the treachery of *Alfred*, who assum'd his place. The fourth year after which, *Cata-*

769. *raffa* an ancient and fair Citty in *York-shire*,

774. was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who

*Sim. Dun.* the same year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alfred* the King depos'd and forsak'n of all his People, fled with a few, first

to *Bebba*, a strong Citty of those parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son

of *Mollo*, was Crown'd in his stead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful,

had subdu'd a Neighbouring People by *Simeon*, call'd *Hestings*; and fought successfully this

year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a place call'd *Ottanford*: the Annals also speak of wondrous

Serpents then seen in *Sussex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon* giv'n small proof of his valour

in several Battles against the *Welch* heretofore; but this year 775 meeting with *Offa*, at a place

775. call'd *Besington*, was put to the worse, and *Offa* won the Town for which they contended. In

*Sax. Ann.* 778. *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecca*,

*Sim. Dun.* treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself the next year driv'n into banish-

ment;

meant, *Elfwald* the Son of *Osulf* succeeding in his place, yet not without Civil Broils; for in his second year *Osald* and *Ethelbeard*, two Noblemen, raising Forces against him, routed *Bearne* his General, and persueing, burnt him at a place call'd *Seletune*. I am sensible how wearisom it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless Actions, so many names of Kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a Scene: what would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and thir doeings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to Morality, swelling my Authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as thir propriety, who have a mind to write the Ecclesiastical matters of those Ages; neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of History with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years therefore pass'd over in silence, as wholly of such Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon*; who having laudably reign'd about thirty one years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert* the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brothers expulsion, had commanded him into banishment; but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small Company, having had intelligence that *Kenwulf* was in the Country thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*, at the House of a Woman whom he lov'd, went by night & be-

780.  
*Sim. Dun.*786.  
*Ethelwerd.*  
*Malmsh.**Sax. Ann.**Camden.*

set the place. *Kenwulf* over-confident either of his Royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs feirily at *Kineard*, and wounds him sore, but by his followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the Kings return, *Osfic* and *Wivert*, two Earls, hasted with a great number to the House, where *Kineard* and his fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promise of great gifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf* was succeeded by *Birhtic*, being both descended of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years after slain miserably by the Conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole People at *Scilcester* by the *Roman Wall*; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagustald*, now *Hexham* upon *Tine*, and some Miracles there said to be done, are alleg'd to witness; and *Siggan* five years after laid violent hands on himself. *Osfred* Son of *Alcred* advanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one year driv'n out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten years of banishment (impris'nment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third year of *Birhtic* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a new

788.

Sim. Dun.  
Malmsb.

Camden.

Malmsb.

Sim. Dun.  
789.

new and fatal revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three *Danish* Ships, the first that had bin seen heer of that Nation arriving in the West; to visit these, as was suppos'd, Forren Merchants; the Kings gatherer of Customs taking Horfe from *Dorchester*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir lading at the Kings Custome-House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iland. Of this *Danish* Pontan. L. 3. first arrival, and on a sudden worse than hostile Aggression, the *Danish* History far otherwise relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir spoilfull march far into the Countrey; though soon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to thir Ships: But from what cause, what reason of State, what Authority or Public Council the Invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a man studious more of Peace and Quiet than of Warlike matters. These Pontan. L. 4. therefore seem rather to have bin some wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking booties on any Land of Christians, came by chance or weather on this shore. The next year *Osred* in *Northumberland*, who driv'n out by his Nobles had given place to *Ethelred*, was tak'n and forcibly 709. Sim. Dun. shav'n

791. shav'n a Monk at *York*. And the year after,  
*Sim. Dun.* *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly  
 King, were drawn by fair promises from the  
 principal Church of *York*, and after by com-  
 mand of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to death at *Won-*  
*waldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in

*Camden.* *Lancashire*, now call'd *Winandermere*. Nor

792. was the third year less bloody; for *Osfred*,  
*Sim. Dun.* who not likeing a shav'n Crown, had desir'd  
*Sim. Dun.* banishment and obtain'd it, returning from  
*Eccles. L.* the Ile of *Man* with small Forces, at the se-  
 2. cret but deceitfull Call of certain Nobles, who

by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also  
 tak'n, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same  
 manner; who the better to avouch his Cruel-  
 ties, thereupon married *Elfred* the Daughter  
 of *Offa*: for in *Offa* was found as little Faith  
 or Mercy. He the same year having drawn  
 to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*,  
 with fair invitations to marry his Daughter,  
 caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded,  
 and his Kingdome wrongfully seisd, by the  
 wicked counsel of his Wife, saith *Mat. West.*  
 annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For  
 which violence and bloodshed to make attone-  
 ment, with Fryers at least, he bestows the re-  
 liques of *S<sup>t</sup> Alban*, in a shrine of Pearl and  
 Gold. Far worse it far'd the next year with

793.  
*Sim. Dun.* the reliques in *Lendisfarne*; where the *Danes*  
 landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fry-  
 ers kill'd some, carried away others Captive,  
 sparing neither Priest nor Lay: which many  
 strange thunders and firey Dragons, with o-  
 ther impressions in the Air seen frequently be-  
 fore,

fore, were judg'd to forefignifie. This year *Alric* third Son of *Vitfred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of thirty four years : with him ended the Race of *Hengift* : thenceforth whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the Name and State of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784 name *Ealmond* then Reigning in *Kent* ; but that confifts not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and fittle King ; he had much intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at firft enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either fide, at length much amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himfelf yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in thofe dayes had fent Orator into *France*, to maintain good correfpondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, faith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual tribute to the Pope out of every Houfe in his Kingdome ; for yeilding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Ecfertb* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who alfo had bin Crown'd nine years before his Father's Deceafe, reftoring to the Church what his Father had feis'd on : yet within fowr Months by a ficknefs ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the fame Progeny bequeath'd his

794.  
Malmsh.Affert. Men.  
Sim. Dun.

Kingdome. Mean while the *Danish* Pirates who still wasted *Northumberland*, ventring on shoar to spoil another Monastery at the mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the *English*, thir Chief Captain slain on the place; then returning to Sea, were most of them Ship-wrack-ed; others driv'n again on shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this thir punishment to the power of *S<sup>t</sup> Cudbert*, offended with them for the rising of his Covent.

796. Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice  
*Sim. Dun.* King, but not exempted at last from the fate of many his Predecessors, miserably slain by his People, some say deservedly, as not incon-scientious with them who train'd *Osred* to his ruin. *Osbold* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in less than a month, deserted and expelled, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lindisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* six years before had commanded to be put to death at *Ripon*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd, was in *York* Created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call *Eadbright* (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by some means having usurp'd Regal Power, after two years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Pris'ner, and soon after, out of pious commiseration let go: but not re-  
 ceav'd of his own, what became of him,

*Malsbury*

*Malmsbury* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conspir'd against *Ethelred*, now also raising Warr against *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Chief Captain, after much havock on either side at *Langbo*, by *Whaley* in *Lancashire*, the Conspirators at last flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The same year *London*, with a grate multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consum'd. The year 800 made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *West-Saxon*; him *Birhtoric* dying Childless left next to Reign, the only survivor of that Linage, descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which *Birhtoric* fearing, and withall his juster Title to the Crown, secretly sought his life, and *Ecbert* perceaving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birhtoric*, easily gave ear to his Embassadors coming to require *Ecbert*: He again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into *France*; but after three years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the great then Reigning, he was call'd over by the Public Voice (for *Birhtoric* was newly dead)

798.  
*Sim. Dun.*

800.

*Malmsb.**Sax. Ann.*

and with general applause Created King of *West-Saxons*. The same day *Ethelmund* at *Kinneresford*, passing over with the *Worcestershire* men, was met by *Weolstan* another Nobleman with those of *Wiltshire*, between whom happen'd a great fray, wherein the *Wiltshire* men overcame, but both Dukes were slain, no reason of thir quarrel writ'n; such bickerings to recount, met oft'n in these our Writers, what more worth is it then to Chronicle the Warrs of Kites, or Crows, flocking and fighting in the Air? The year following, *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian*, leading forth an Army against *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birhtwic*, a Woeman every way wick'd, in malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appeale the general hatred justly conceav'd against her; accusom'd in her Husbands days to accuse any whom she spight-ed; and not prevailing to his ruine, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had tempered, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sip'd therof only, and in a while after still pineing away, ended his daies; the favourite drinking deeper found speedier the Operation. She fearing to be question'd for these facts, with what treasure she had, pass'd over-sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich gifts coming to his

801.

*Sim. Dun.**Malmsh.*

L. 2.

*Affer.*

802.

*Sim. Dun.*

his presence, the Emperour courtly receav'd with this pleasant proposal: Choose *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband: She no dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easie answer. Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger man. To whom the Emperour between jest and earnest, Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son; but since thou hast chos'n him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that life it may seem, she chose next to profess; but being a while after detected of unchastity, with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandering poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Paravia* a City of *Italy*, she finish'd at last in beggary her shamefull life. In the year 805 *Cuthred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, instead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obscurely Reign'd eight years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the year following was driv'n out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who Reign'd two years in his room; after whom *Eandred* Son of *Eardulf* 33 years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better Authors: Much less that which *Buchanan* relates, the year following, of *Acarius* King of *Scots*, who having Reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*, against *Arhelstan* a *Sax-*

805.

*Malmsh.**Sax. An.*

806.

*Hunting.**Sim. Dun.*

808.

*Mat. West.*

809.

on or *English-man*, then wasting the *Pictish* Borders; that *Hungus* by the aid of those *Scots* and the help of St. *Andrew* thir Patron, in a Vision by night, and the appearance of his Cross by day, routed the astonisht *English*, and slew *Athelstan* in fight. Who this *Athelstan* was, I believe no man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have bin som *Danish* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had bestow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I find no footstep in our Ancient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be little less than 100 years after; this *Athelstan* therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have bin the fancy of som Legend than any warrantable Record. Mean while *Ecbert*, having with much Prudence, Justice, and Clemency, a work of more than one year, establish't his Kingdom, and himself in the affections of his People, turns his first enterprise against the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwall*, and those beyond *Seavern*, subduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the 6<sup>th</sup> year after, having reign'd with great praise of his Religious mind and Vertues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of seven years, was committed to the care of his Eldest Sister *Quendred*; who with a female ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writt'n Note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long story told,

*Sim. Dun.*

813.

*Sax. Ann.*

819.

*Sax. an.*

*Malmsh.*

told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*; and under the year 821 by *Mat. West.* where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpose :

*Low in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,  
Of Head bereft li'th poor Kenelm King-born.*

*Keolwulf* the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one years Reign was driv'n out by one *Bernulf* an Usurper: who in his third year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Ecbert*, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wilton*: yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806 a wide difference, but frequently found in thir computations. *Bernulf* thence retiring to the *East-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late seizure of *Offa*, was by them met in the field and slain: but they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both King and People to the Sovranty of *Ecbert*. As for the Kings of *East-Angles* our *Annals* mention them not since *Ethelwald*; him succeeded his Brother's Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the Father of this *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiously put to death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*, in the year 749 write that *Elfwald* King of *East-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Albert* shar'd the Kingdome between them; but where

820.

*Inglf.*

823.

*Sax. An.**Florent.**Genealog.**Bed. L. 2.*

c. 15.

where to insert this among the former successions is not easie, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*, none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir submitting now to *Ecbert*: he from this Victory against *Bernulf* sent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alstan* Bishop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulferd* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his 18th year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and lastly *Essex*, with her King *Smithred*, became subject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, the first in order set down in *Saxon Annals*, being his fight against the *Devonshire Welch*, at a place call'd *Gafulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwall*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinsman on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his five Consuls, as the *Annals* call them, surpriz'd and put to the Sword: and *Witblaf* his Successor first vanquisht, then upon submission with all *Mercia*, made Tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fall'n to shivers; thir Kings one after another so oft'n slain by the People, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the space of 33 years, after the death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which mis-rule among them, the *Danes* having understood,

oft-

*Camden.*  
825.  
*Ingulf.*

oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the Land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wasting Towns, Churches, and Monasteries, for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whose coming, on the North-side of *St. Peter's Church* in *York*, was seen from the roof to rain Blood. The causes of these Calamities, and the ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in those days, attributes in several Epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Arch-bishop; thir neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of their Priests and Nuns, discovering thir vain and wanton humours, examples are also read, eev'n in *Beda's* days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloisters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with blood of thir Princes, Civil Dissentions among the People, and finally all the same Vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this estate *Ecbert*, who had now Conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827 (for he was march'd thether with an Army to compleat his Conquest of the whole Iland) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance, *Eandred* thir King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his Forces the year following, he subdu'd more thoroughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

827.

828.

*Mar. West.*

*The End of the Fourth Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN.

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BOOK V.

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**T**HE sum of things in this Iland, or the best part thereof, reduc't now under the Power of one Man; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unless in Fables; men might with som reason have expected from such Union, Peace and Plenty, Greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees: but far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly called, and sometimes *Dacians*, by others, the same with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themselves were at first reputed, and much more;

more; for the *Saxons* first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above *Calvisius*. related, came most of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmarke*, as *Danish* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this Invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own Posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but *Ancienter Normans*. Which Invasion perhaps, had the *Heptarchy* *Pontani* stood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and People, excited by thir neereſt concerns, had more industriously defended thir own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, ſent oft-times from the remote reſidence of a ſecure Monarch. Though as it fell out in thoſe troubles, the leſſer Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own ſafety, it came to no better paſs; while ſeverally they fought to repell the danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed ſervitude on a ſinful Nation, fitted by their own Vices for no condition but ſervile, all Eſtates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpoſ'd to puniſh our inſtrumental puniſhers, though now Chriſtians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; Invasion for Invasion, ſpoil for ſpoil, deſtruction for deſtruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at thir arrival, brok'n with luxury

xury and sloath, either secular, or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of Arms, and the study of all vertuous Knowledge, some betook them to over-worldly or vicious Practice, others to Religious Idleness and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions; easily perceav'd such, by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these ostentation of Alms, got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustfull deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow'd, as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when Religion it self grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shews of purity were impur'd?

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### *Ecbert.*

**E***Cbert* in full highth of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the exercise of Armes perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32 of his Reign, wasted *Shepey* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of thir arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battel by the River *Carr* in *Dorsetshire*; the event whereof was, that the *Danes* kept thir

832.

Sax. An.

833.

Sax. An.

thir ground, and encampt where the field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Ofmund*, and two Bishops as some say, were there slain. This was the only check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning two years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these Invasions against *Ecbert*, the *Danish* History is not silent; whether out of thir own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landish Chronicles than any Records of thir own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next year with glory ended his days, and was buried at *Winchester*.

835.

Sax. Ann.  
Pontan.  
Hist. Dan.

L. 4.

836.

Sax. Ann.

*Ethelwolf.*

**E***thelwolf* the Son of *Ecbert* succeeded, by *Malmsbury* describ'd a man of mild nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therfore contented with the ancient *West-Saxon* bounds, he gave to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon* Annalist, whose Authority is Elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike disposition of *Ethelwolf*,  
P gave

Mat. West.

837.  
Sax. An.

838.  
Sax. An.

839.  
Sax. An.

840.  
Sax. An.  
Sim. Dun.  
Mat. West.

844.

gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next year with thirty three Ships; but *Wulfbeard*, one of the Kings Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have bin one of *Ecberts* old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the Kings Captains with the *Dorsetshire* men, had at first like success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood thir ground, and put the *English* to rout. Worse was the success of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Meref-war*, slain with the most part of his Army. The year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and *Kent*, much mischief was done by thir landing; where the next year, imbold'nd by success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respit to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next year in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir ground. In *Northumberland* *Eadred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the same tenure to his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fourth year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation halting forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvetbeli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fourth year after.

ter. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the *Danes* next year after met with som stop in the full course of thir outrageous insolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Somerset*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Osfic* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the Rivers mouth of *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This repulse queld them, for ought we hear, the space of six years; Then also renewing thir Invasion, with litle better success. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and over-threw them at *Wiganbeorch* with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the rest driv'n off, however to ride out the Winter on that shoar, *Affer* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Ile*. Hard it is through the bad expression of these Writers, to define this fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea fight. Nevertheless with fifty Ships (*Affer* and others add three hundred) they enter'd the mouth of *Thames*, and made excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Affer* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, successor of *Witblaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over *Thames* with thir Powers into *Surrey*, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a

845.  
Sax. An.

851.  
Sax. An.  
Affer.

Hunting.  
Mar. West.

853.  
Sax. Ann.  
Affer.

place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receav'd a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great reputation. *Burhed* therefore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his Aid against the *North-Welch*, as then troublesom to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in person; and therby reduc'd them to obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both Consecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son; at home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the loss equal on both: which yet hinder'd not the solemnity of a Marriage at the Feast of *Easter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelswida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. Howbeit the *Danes* next year winter'd again in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding humane health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, registred in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all impositions, but converted to the Maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it Telf, in *William* of *Malmsbury*. *Affer* saith, he did it for the redemption of his Soul, and the Soul

*Malmsb.*

854.

*Sax. An.*

Spul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done som great matter, to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thether with young *Alfrid* again, and there staves a year, when his place requir'd him rather heer in the field against Pagan Enemies left wintring in his Land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelbald* his Eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerset* conspir'd against him; thir complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an Out-landish Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than Warr: but the King abhorring Civil Discord, after many conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; division was made, but the matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great indignation, offering to the King thir utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund* Lineal from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all

but his own Crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Countrey, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scotish* King, to recover thir Ancient Possession. *Osbert* who in person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, oversecure of thir suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Pris'ner thir King, and persw'd his Victory beyond *Sterlinbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Embassadors entreating Peace, had it granted them on these Conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: The Limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlingbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had joind with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that side the *British* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themselv's witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of thir own Country? ) how much wanting have bin our Historians to thir Countries Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an exploit so memorable, by them remember'd and attested, who are wont offer to extenuate than to amplify aught done in *Scotland* by the *English*? *Donaldus* on these conditions releas't, soon after dyes; according to *Buchanan*, in 858.

*Ethelwolf*

*Ethelwolf* Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his youth *Mat. West.* much addicted to devotion; so that in his Fathers time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne; manning therefore his greatest Affairs by the Activity of two Bishops, *Alstan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithine* of *Winchester*. But *Alstan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malmsbury*; the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that *Malmsb.* Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his days. However he were facile to his Son, and seditious Nobles, in yielding up part of his Kingdome, yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. *Asser.* The *West-Saxons* had decreed ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birchric*, that no Queen should sit in state with the King, or be dignifi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his death, he divided the Kingdome between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, to the Elder all the rest; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

*Ethelbald, and Ethelbert.**Affer.**Malm'sb.**Sim. Dun.*

860.

*Sax. An.*

**E***thelbald*, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love to his Father's Wife; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without doing aught more worthy to be rememberd; having reigned two years with his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine favour doubtless, but to his great condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great sorrow of his People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat. West.* saith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*; and dismiss'd her: but *Affer* an Eye witness of those times, mentions no such thing.

*Ethelbert alone.*

**E***thelbald* by death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightlyfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful;

peaceful ; once or twice Invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sackt *Winchester*, were met by *Osfic* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Bark-shire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir booty. Five years after, about the time of his death, they set foot again in *Tanet* ; the *Kentish* men wearied out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain summe of money ; but ere the Peace could be ratifi'd, and the money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden eruption in the night, soon wasted all the *East of Kent*. Mean while or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburne*.

855.

Sax. Ann.

*Ethelred.*

**E** *Thelred* the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his first coming to the Crown was entertain- 866.  
ed with a fresh Invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hin-* Sax. an.  
*guar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had *Hunſing*.  
got footing among the *East-Angles* ; there  
they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace  
with the Inhabitants, furnish'd themselves of  
Horses, forming by that means many Troops  
with Riders of thir own: These Pagans, *Affer*  
faith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted 867.  
thus for a long expedition, they ventur'd the Sax. ann.  
next year to make thir way over Land and  
over *Humber*, as far as *York*, them they found  
to thir hands imbroil'd in Civil Dissentions ;  
thir

thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction chosen in his room ; who both, though late, admonish'd by thir Common Danger, towards the years end with United Powers made Head against the *Danes* and prevail'd ; but persueing them over-eagerly into *Yorke*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without ; thir Kings also both slain, thir City burnt, saith *Malmsbury*, the rest as they could, made thir Peace, over-run and vanquisht as far as the River *Tine*, and *Ecbert* of *English* Race appointed King over them. *Bromton* no Ancient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Cause of the *Danes* coming to *York* : that *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravish't, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The example is remarkable if the truth were as evident. Thence Victorious, the *Danes* next year enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they spent the winter. *Burhed* then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his brother, they assembling thir Forces and joyning with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel : the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there ; at length the *Mercians* weary of long suspense, enter'd into conditions of Peace with thir Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *York*, made thir abode there the space of

After.

868.

After.

of one year, committing, some say, many Cruelties. Thence imbarcking to *Lindsey*, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about September they came with like fury into *Kesteven*, another part of *Lincolnshire*, where *Algar*, the Earle of *Howland* now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hunder'd stout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Croiland*, three hundre'd from about *Boston*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well trained and armed, *Osgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with 500 of that City, all joyning together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, slew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and persued the rest to thir Tents; but the night following, *Gotburn*, *Basæg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the *Englifs* began to slink home. Nevertheless *Algar* with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and sustaining unmov'd the brunt of thir assaults, could not with-hold his Men at last from persueing thir counterfeited flight; whereby op'n'd and disorder'd, they fell into the snare of thir Enemies, rushing back upon them. *Algar* and those Captains fore-nam'd with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence passing on into the Country of

869.

*Sim. Dun.*

870.

*Inglf.*

871.  
Sax. An.

Asser.

of *East-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monastery of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* assailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself tak'n, bound to a stake, and shot to death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu'd. The next year with great Supplies, saith *Huntingdon*, bending thir march toward the *West-Saxons*, the only People now left, in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to *Reading*, fortifi'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames*, and *Kenet*, and about three dayes after, sent out wings of Horse under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Bark-shire*, at *Englefeild* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, slew one of thir Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four dayes after came the King himself and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battel; and the *Danes* issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* lost his life; but the *Danes* losing no ground, kept thir place of standing to the end. Neither did the *English* for this make less haste to another Conflict at *Escesdune*, or *Ashtown*, four dayes after, where both Armies with thir whole Forces on either side met. The *Danes* were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Bascai* and *Half-den*, thir two Kings, the other by such Earls as were appointed: in like manner the *English* divided thir Powers, *Ethelred* the King stood against thir Kings; and though on the lower ground,

ground and coming later into the Battel from his Orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein *Bascai*, (the *Danish History* names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the Field, with such resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd *Sidroc* Elder and younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest persu'd till night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the *Annals*, that the *Danes* fourteen days after such an Overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under conduct, saith the *Danish History*, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*, should obtain the Victory; especially since the new supply of *Danes* mention'd by *Asser*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Mertun*, in two Squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for *Asser* is heer silent) to be the Chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Basis upon which the Monks later in time Gloss and Comment at thir pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant men lost thir lives. This fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; whereof, as is thought,

*Pontan.*  
*Hist. Dan.*  
L. 4.

Camd.

thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inscribes that he had his death wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Danish History* 872. Of all these terrible Landings and Devastations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwolf* till thir two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Danish History* of best Credit saith nothing; so little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of thir brutish, rather than manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of *Asser*, from *Danubius*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably some barbarous Nations of *Prussia*, or *Livonia*, not long before seated more Northward on the *Baltic Sea*.

### *Alfred.*

**A** *lfred* the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had scarce perform'd his Brother's Obsequies, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the months end in hast with a small Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and most part of the day foyl'd them; but unwarily following the chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Masters of the field. This year, as is affirm'd in the *Annals*, nine Battels had bin fought against the *Danes* on the South-side of *Thames*;

*Thames*, besides innumerable excursions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, so that weary on both sides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir march to *London*, now expos'd thir prey, there they winter'd, and thether came the *Mercians* to renue Peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbi-shire*, and there wintring, they constrain'd *Burhed* the King to fly into Forein Parts, making seisure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*, with better reason than his Ancestors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *English* School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with condition to be resign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they dislodg'd, *Hafden* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and subjecting all those Quarters, wasted also the *Picts* and *British* beyond: but *Cuthbrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of thir Kings moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole year. *Alfred* that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect

872.

Sax. Ann.

873.

Sax. Ann.

Camden.

874.

Sax. Ann.

875.

Sax. Ann.

876.  
Sax. An.

Florent.

Florent.

877.  
Sax. Ann.

Affer.

lect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with seven *Danish* Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the *English* at that time were but little experient in Sea affairs. The next years first motion of the *Danes* was towards *Warham* Castle: where *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or thir doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by Money brought them to such terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a Solemn Oath it seems which they never voutsafed before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the Land: but falsifying that Oath, by night with all the Horse they had (*Affer* saith, slaying all the Horsemen he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* thir King began to settle, to divide the Land, to Till, and to Inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were march'd to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, coursing now and then to *Warham*; but thir Fleet the next year sailing or rowing about the West, met with such a tempest near to *Swanwich*, or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left the rest easie to be maister'd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there to guard the Seas, and streit'n *Exeter* of Provision. He the while beleaguering them in the City; now humbled with the loss of thir Navy (two Navies, saith *Affer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths;

Oaths, to keep thir Covnanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer comming on, they departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongst themselves; part left to *Kelwulf* thir substituted King. The Twelftide following, all Oaths forgott'n, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, dispeopling the Countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred*. himself with a small Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny places, and for some time all alone, as *Florent* saith, sojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd, made afterwards for his devotion, and aptness to Learning, Bishop of *Winchester*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*; coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great spoil; landed in *Devonshire*; nigh to a strong Castle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelv hunder'd of thir men. Mean while the King about *Easter*, not despairing of his Affairs, built a Fortress at a place call'd *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*, therein valiantly defending Himself and his Followers, frequently sallying forth. The seventh week after, he rode out to a place call'd *Ec-bryt-stone* in the East part of *Selwood*: thether resorted to him with much gratulation the *Somerset* and *Wiltshire* men; with many out of *Hampshire*; some of whom a little before had fled thir Countrey; with these marching to *Ethandune* now *Edindon* in *Wiltshire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Danish* Power, and put them to flight. Then beseiging thir Castle;

Q

within

878.

Sax. Ann.

Sim. Dun.

Assr.

Camden.

within fourteen dayes took it. *Malsbury* writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the *Danish* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining access to the King's Table, and somtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledge of their secrets, thir careless encamping, and therby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The *Danes* by this misfortune brok'n, gave him more hostages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King *Gytro*, or *Gothrun*, offer'd willingly to receave Baptism, and accordingly came with thirty of his Friends, to a place call'd *Aldra*, or *Aulre*, neer to *Atbelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Atbelstan*. After which, they abode with him twelv daies, and were dismiss't with rich presents. Whereupon the *Danes* remov'd next year to *Cirencester*, thence peaceably to the *East-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as some write, had bestow'd on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the bounds whereof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Tbames*, and joyning there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence pass'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd, so far conquering or wasting, as witness'd sufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able than the *English* by Policy or prowess to keep off that *Danish* inundation from thir Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing;

Camd.

879.

Sax. Ann.

ing; three years after (quiet the mean while) 882. *Sax. Ann.*  
 with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at first met with four of theirs, where-  
 of two he took, throwing the men over-board,  
 then with two others, wherein were two of  
 thir Princes, and took them also, but not  
 without some loss of his own. After three 885. *Sax. Ann.*  
 years another Fleet of them appear'd on these Seas, so huge that one part thought themselvs  
 sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other  
 came to *Rocheſter*, and beleaguer'd it, they  
 within stoutly defending themselves, till *Al-*  
*fred* with great Forces, coming down upon  
 the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships, leaving  
 for haſt all thir Horſes behind them. The  
 ſame year *Alfred* ſent a Fleet toward the  
*East-Angles*, then inhabited by the *Danes*, *Sim. Dun.*  
 which at the mouth of *Stour*, meeting with  
 ſixteen *Daniſh* Ships, after ſome flight took  
 them all, and ſlew the Souldiers aboard; but  
 in thir way home lying careleſs, were over-  
 tak'n by another part of that Fleet, and came  
 off with loſs, whereupon perhaps thoſe *Danes*  
 who were ſettl'd among the *East-Angles*, ere-  
 cted with new hopes, violated the Peace which  
 they had ſworn to *Alfred*, who ſpent the next 886. *Sax. Ann.*  
 year in repairing *London*, (beſieging, ſaith  
*Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd by  
 the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but thoſe who  
 had bin led away Captive, ſoon return'd to  
 thir dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, *Sim. Dun.*  
 was by the King appointed thir Governour. 893. *Sax. Ann.*  
 But after thirteen years reſpite of Peace, an-  
 other *Daniſh* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *East*  
 part

part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortrefs. After whom *Haeften* with another *Danish* Fleet of Eighty Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the Former Army remaining at a place call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceaving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex*, Hostages, lest they should joyn, as they were wont, with thir Countrey-men newly arriv'd.

894.

Sax. Ann.

And by the next year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so, as to be ready for either of them, who first should happ'n to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter forageing parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In conclusion, rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where the *Danes* by *Alfred's* Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Iland neer *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrooke*, were beseig'd there by *Alfred* till provision fail'd the beseigers, another part staid behind with the King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the seige in *Colney*, the  
*Danes*

*Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *East-Angles*, and with a hunderd Ships Coasting Southward, landed in *Devonshire*, and beseig'd *Exeter*; thether *Alfred* hasted with his Powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: with whom the Citizens marching forth to *Beamsfet*, where *Hæstan* the *Dane* had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the main of his Army was enter'd far into the Countrey, luckily surprise the Fort, maister the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many Prisoners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of *Heaften* were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon *Heaften* gave Oath of Amitie and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by agreement, a summe of money. Nevertheless without regard of Faith giv'n, while *Alfred* was busied about *Exeter*, joyning with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle in *Essex* at *Sboberie*, thence marching Westward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrian* and *East-Englisch Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in thir way. But, *Etbred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttington*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-shire*, the River running between, and there many weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes* who beseig'd *Exeter*, having eat'n part of thir Horses, the

Camden.

rest urg'd with hunger broke forth to their fellows, who lay encamp't on the East-side of the River, and were all there discomfited, with some loss of valiant men on the King's party; the rest fled back to *Essex* and thir Fortress there. Then *Laf*, one of thir Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish Danes*, who leaving thir Money, Ships, and Wives with the *East-Angles*, and marching day and night, sat down before a City in the West call'd *Wirbeal* neer to *Chester*, and took it e're they could be overtak'n. The *English* after two daies seige hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the Countrey round to cut off from them all Provision, and departed. Soon after which, next year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirbeal*, destitute of Vittles, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *East-Angles* as far as *Essex*, where they seis'd on a small Iland call'd *Meresig*. And heer again the Annals Record them to beseige *Exeter*, but without coherence of sence or story. Others relate to this purpose, that returning by Sea from the Siege of *Exeter*, and in thir way landing on the Coast of *Sussex*, they of *Cichester* sallied out, and slew of them many hunderds, taking also some of thir Ships. The same year they who possess'd *Meresig*, intending to winter thereabout, drew up thir Ships, some into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof built a Castle twenty miles from *London*; to assault which the *Londoners* aid-

895.  
*Sax. Ann.*

*Sim. Dun.*  
*Florent.*

ed with other Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the King's Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these four were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; in the mean time, suttley devising to turn *Lee* stream several ways; wherby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceaving, march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortrefs and winter'd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in safety with the *East-Angles*. The next year was Pestilent, and besides the common sort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Britbulf* in *Effex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this Evil, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirats, who had done much harm in the Ile of *Wight* and parts adjoyning. The bickering was doubtfull and

896.

Sax. Ann.

897.

Sax. Ann.

intricate, part on the water, part on the sands; not without loss of some Eminent Men on the *English* side. The Pirats at length were either slain or tak'n, two of them stranded; the men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his Command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her men much wounded; the same year not fewer than twenty of thir Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all thir Men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* Landing heer, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Iland, after an unsuccessful fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France*, and conquer'd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the summe of what pass'd in three years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-guisted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idely or voluptuously, but in all vertuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900, the 51 of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried Regally at *Winchester*; he was born at a place call'd *Wanading* in *Barkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the Kings Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of Noble descent. He was of person comlier than all his Brethren, of pleasing tongue

900.

After.

tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory ; yet through the fondness of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age ; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosome to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars, and the cares of his Kingdom, yet leasure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his People, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda's* History and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth ; at twenty years of Age not yet Reigning, he took to Wife *Egelswitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The Extremities which befell him in the sixt of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger dayes the complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second person in the Kingdom for redress ; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a Youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps

perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowful Narrations ; but from the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no man more patient in hearing Causes, more inquisitive in Examining, more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant ; more severe in punishing unjust Judges or obstinate Offenders. Theeves especially and Robbers, to the terrour of whom in cross wayes were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence ; so that Justice seem'd in his dayes not to flourish only, but to triumph : no man than hee more frugal of two precious things in Mans life, his Time and his Revenue ; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His Time, the day, and night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equal portions : the one was for Devotion, the other for Publick or private Affairs, the third for bodily refreshment : how each hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equall parts ; the first he employ'd to Secular Uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Souldiers, Household Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn ; the second was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of severall Nations ; for he was also an Elegant Builder ; above the custom and conceit of *Englishmen* in those days : the third he had in  
readiness

readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to Religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study Sacred knowledge and Liberal Arts, som say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the relief of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the shrine of *St. Thomas*, sending thether *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; guifts also and a Letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sent many to *Rome*, and for them receav'd Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the Mirror of Princes; His Body was diseas'd in his youth with a great forenens in the Seige, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

*Malmsh.**Edward the Elder.*

**E**dward the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and Extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning

*Malmsh.*

- Huntingd.* ginning of his Reign had much disturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Cousin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die ; but encompass'd with the King's Forces at *Badburie* a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thether. About this time the *Kentish* men, against a multitude of *Danish* Pirats, fought prosperously at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Howeden* records. *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three years after, sailing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and lad'n with spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making speed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, as far as the Fenns Northward, laid wast all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanding that all his Army should follow him close without delay ; but the *Kentish* men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and joyn'd

joyn'd Battel with the King: where Duke *Sigulf* and Earle *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides; yet the *Danes* kept in thir Power the burying of thir slain. What ever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the King two years after with the *Danes*, both of *East-Angles*, and *Northumberland* concluded Peace, which continu'd three years, by whom-  
 soever brok'n; for at the end thereof King *Edward* raising great Forces out of *West-Sex*, and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The King offer'd them terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next year into *Mercia*, rendring no less hostility than they had suffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, saith *Florent*, were by the *English* in a set Battel overthrow'n. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hundred Sail, others gon Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King guessing what might imbold'n them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them in thir return over *Canbrig* in *Gloustershire*, and slew many thousands, among whom  
*Ecwils*,

907.  
Sax. Ann.

910.  
Sax. Ann.

911.  
Sax. Ann.

*Ethelwald.*

912.  
Sax. Ann.913.  
Sax. Ann.917.  
Sax. Ann.Hunting.  
Camden.

*Ecwils*, *Hafden*, and *Hinguar* thir Kings, and many other harsh names in *Huntingdon*; the place also of this fight is variously writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfield*. The year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had giv'n *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoyning, into his own hands, and the year after, built, or much repair'd by his Souldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Countrey, subject formerly to the *Danes*, yielded themselves to his Protection. Four years after (*Florent* allows but one year) the *Danes* from *Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much rapine, and in some Towns thereof great slaughter; while another party wasting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Countrey-people inur'd now to such kind of Incurfions, joyning stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, recover'd thir own goods, with some booty from thir Enemies. About the same time *Elsted* the King's Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into *Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Castle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the King's Wife of that Country, with other Prisners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp assault.

assault. But the year ensuing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two *Leaders*, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the *Lands end*, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing wasted the *Welch Coast*, and *Irchenfield* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose Ransome King *Edward* gave forty pound, but the men of *Hereford* and *Glocestershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, persu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compel'd them to give Hostages of present departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventur'd to Land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchord by a small Island where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a place call'd *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse* ere his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yeilded him subjection. Wherupon the next year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive heer, where things with such

918.  
*Sax. Ann.*919.  
*Sax. Ann.*920.  
*Sax. Ann.*

921.  
Sax. Ann.

such prudence were mannag'd against his interests, got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into *France*. Early the next year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Tovechester*, now *Torchester*; and another City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leister* and *Northampton-shire*; not liking perhaps to be neighbour'd with strong Towns, laid Seige to *Torchester* [but they within repelling the assault one whole day till supplies came.] quitted the seige by night; and persu'd close by the beseig'd, between *Birnwud* and *Ailsbury* were surpris'd, many of them made Prisoners, and much of thir Baggage lost. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *East-Angles*, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail *Bedford*: but the Garrison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this a great Army of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, came and beseig'd the City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of thir Cattel: whereupon the *English* from Towns and Citties round about joyning Forces, laid Seige to the Town and Castle of *Temsford*, and by assault took both; slew thir King with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this, the men  
of

of Kent, Surrey, and part of Essex, enterpris'd the Siege of Colchester, nor gave over till they won it, sack'd the Town, and putting to Sword all the Dames therein, except some who escap'd over the Wall. To the succour of these, a great number of Danes inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the East-Angles, assisted their Forces; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguering Maldon; but that Town also timely releas'd, they departed, not only frustrate of their design, but so hardly persw'd, that many thousands of them lost their lives in the flight. Northwith King Edward, with his West-Saxons went to Passham upon Ouse, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone Wall about Forchester; to him there Earl Thurfert, and other Lord Danes, with their Army thereabout as far as Wessex came and submitted. Whereat the Kings Soldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismiss'd home; therfore with another part of them he enter'd Huntingdon, and repair'd it, where breaches had bin made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at Colchester by the next remove of his Army, after which both East and West-Angles, and the Danish Forces among them, yeilded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army also of Danes at Grunthrig, surrendring themselves took the same Oath. The summer following he came with his Army to Stamford, built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the People of those quarters acknowledg'd him

R

Supream

300  
anno. 1012

300  
anno. 1012

921.  
Sax. An. 1

Sovereign. During his abode there, *Elfed* his Sister a martial Woman, who after her Husband's death would no more marry, but gave herself to Publick Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes dy'd at *Gloucestre* the Chief Seat of *Mercia*, where of by gift of *Elfred* her Father she was Lady or Queen, whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edmund*, as did also North-Wales, with *Harlech*, *Clodanus*, and *Teis* of their Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part English, part Danes, and receiv'd fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Chester*, he built and fortify'd *Flint*, and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortify *Manchester*. About Midsummer following, he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over against wit on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridge joyn'd them both, thence journey'd to a place call'd *Bedcanwillan* in *Pictland*, there also built and fence'd a City on the Borders, where the King of Scots did him Honours to his Sovereignty together with the whole Scottish Nation, the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Baldulf*, Danish Princes, with all the Northmen, both English and Danes. The King also of a People thereabout call'd *Streathgods* (the North Welch, as *Ganden* thinks, of *Strath Clud* in *Drughishire*, perhaps rather the British of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and

923.  
Sax. ann.

924.  
Sax. ann.

922.  
Sax. ann.

and not undeserv'd. For *Buchanan* himself confesses, that this King *Edward*, with a small number of men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole United Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*; slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolm*, whom *Constantine* the *Scotish* King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight, sore wounded. Of the *English*, he makes *Atbelstan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Atbelstan*, about twenty four years after at *Battleford*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, whereof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occasion to inveigh against the *English* Writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm *Atbelstan* to have bin Supream King of *Britain*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the *Annals* of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* slain by *Machetad*; or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040. which gives cause of suspicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to thir own Country-man, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farneham*; 925. Sax. ann.

*Huntingd.* a builder and restorer ev'n in War, not a de-  
*Mat. West.* stroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives  
 many Children; his Eldest Daughter *Edgith*  
 he gave in marriage to *Charles* King of *France*,  
 Grand-Child of *Charles* the *Bald* above-men-  
 tion'd; of the rest in place convenient. His  
 Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at  
*Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred* his  
 Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethel-*  
*ward* his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown.  
*Simr Dun.* He had the whole Iland in subjection, yet so  
 as petty Kings Reign'd under him. In *Nor-*  
*thumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had  
 set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly un-  
 der their Yoke, at the end of six years had ex-  
 pell'd, one *Ricsig* was set up King, and bore  
 the name three years; then another *Ecbert*,  
 and *Guthred*; the latter if we beleeeve Le-  
 gends, of a Servant made King by command  
 of *S. Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by  
 another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well  
 for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to  
 his Church and Monastery. But now to the  
 Story.

### *Athelstan.*

*A* *Thelstan* next in Age to *Ethelward* his Bro-  
 ther, who deceas'd untimely few dayes  
 before, though born of a Concubine, yet for  
 the great appearance of many Vertues in him,  
 and his Brethren being yet under Age, was  
 exalted to the Throne, at *Kingstone* upon  
*Thames*,

*Thames*, and by his Fathers last Will, saith *Malmsbury*, yet not without some opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not liking he should Reign, had conspir'd to seize on him after his Father's death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conspirators discover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome*, to assert his innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediatly, and carried out by his Servants, three daies after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes*, though much aw'd were not idle. *Inguard* one of this Kings took possession of *York*, *Sitric* who some years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and how ever he defended these doings, grew so considerable, that *Atbelstan* with great Solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife: but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the Kingdome, driv'n out the next year by *Atbelstan*; not unjustly saith *Huntingdon*, as being first raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *British* King, whom *Atbelstan* this year drove out of his Kingdome; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only mistak'n. *Malmsbury* differs in the name also, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them also I wish as much mistaken, who write that *Atbelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin*'s towardly Vertues, lest added to the right of Birth, they might some time or other call in question his

*Malmsb.**Sim. Dan.**Malmsb.  
Mat. West.*

927.

*Sax. ann.*

933. illegitimate precedence, caus'd him to be  
*Sim. Dun.* drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, some say,  
 with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without  
 Sail or Oar; where the youth far off Land,  
 and in rough weather despairing, threw him-  
 self over-board; the Servant more patient,  
 got to Land and reported the success. But this  
*Malmesbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs,  
 not read in warrantable Authors; and *Hun-*  
*tington* speaks as of a sad accident to *Athelstan*,  
 that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the  
 more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is writ'n  
 by all, tenderly lov'd, and bred up the rest of  
 his Brethren, of whom he had no less cause to  
 be jealous. And the year following he pro-  
 sper'd better than from so foul a Fact, passing  
 into *Scotland* with great Fuillance, both by Sea  
 and Land, and chasing his Enemies before  
 him, by Land as far as *Dunfoder*, and *Wester-*  
*more*, by Sea as far as *Cathness*. The cause of  
 this Expedition, saith *Malmesbury*, was to de-  
 mand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thether fled,  
 though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*,  
 who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a  
 place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, sur-  
 render'd himself and each his Kingdom to *A-*  
*thelstan*, who brought back with him for ho-  
 stage the Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* e-  
 scaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and  
*Constantine* exasperated by this Invasion, per-  
 swaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled  
 into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ire-*  
*land* and the *Iles*, his Son in Law, with 613  
*Ships*, and the King of *Cumberland* with other  
 Forces,

934.

*Sax. Ann.**Sim. Dun.**Florent.**Florent.**Sim. Dun.*

Forces, to his aid. This within four years effected, they enter'd England by *Humber*, and fought with *Atthelstan* at a place call'd *Malmsh.* *dune*, others term it *Brunanburh*; others *Brunanford*, which *Ingal* places beyond *Humber*; *Canden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scottish* Borders; the bloodiest fight, say Authors, that ever this Island saw, to describe which, the *Saxon* Annalist wont to be sober and succinct; whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his Arguments and over-charg'd, runs on a sudden into such extravagant Fancies and Metaphors, as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peasant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his Readers. I shall only summe up what of him I can attain, in usual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from morning till night; some fell of King *Edwards* old soldiers, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great multitudes, the rest led with their Ships, Five Kings, and seven of the best Chief Captains were slain on the place, with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the fight, if I understand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin* with a small remainder of his great Host. *Malmsh.* relates this War adding many circumstances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joyning with *Constantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Atthelstan* who had retir'd on set

purpose to be the sūrer of his Enemies, enclo-  
 sed from all succour and retreat, met him at  
 Winchester. *Alfred* perceiving the valour and  
 resolution of *Alfred*, and mistrusting his own  
 Forces though numerous, resolv'd still to spie  
 in what posture his Enemies lay: and imita-  
 ting perhaps what he heard attempted by King  
*Alfred*, the Angel before, in the habit of a Musi-  
 cian, got access by his Lute and Voice to the  
 Kings Tent, there playing both the Minstrel  
 and the Spie: when towards Evening dismiss'd,  
 he was observ'd by one who had bin his Sould-  
 dier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the  
 Kings Tent, and what approaches lay about it,  
 then in the twilight to depart. The Souldier  
 forthwith acquaints the King, and by him bla-  
 m'd for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that  
 he had giv'n first his military Oath to *Alfred*,  
 wherein if he had betray'd, the King might su-  
 spoil him of like treacherous mind towards him-  
 self; which to disprove, he advis'd him to re-  
 move his Tent good distance off, and so don,  
 it happen'd that a Bishop with his Retinue com-  
 ing that night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent  
 in the same place, from whence the King had  
 remov'd. *Alfred* coming by night as he had de-  
 sign'd to assault the Camp, and especially the  
 Kings Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead,  
 slew him with all his Followers. *Alfred* then  
 took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found  
 surpris'd, but that the day now appear-  
 ing, he put his men in order, and maintain'd  
 the fight till Evening; wherein *Constantine* him-  
 self was slain with five other Kings, and twelve  
 Earls,

Earls, the Annals were content with seav'n, in the rest not disagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland* from the authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: that *Athelstan* above a mile distant from the place where execution was don upon the Bishop and his Supplies, allarm'd at the noise, came down by break of day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch't and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, consisting most of *West-Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irish*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The shower of Arrows and Darts over-pass't, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible ingagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of select valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worstershire* men, a Captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* vallantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the goodness of his Armour well endured, he had yet but beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithful second at the same time slain

Con-

*Constantine* : which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own cost he had repair'd, from *Danish* ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. *Athelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Lydwal* the King, and possess'd his Land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to their Regal State ; for the surrender of King *Constantine* hath bin above spok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covenanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britans*, who till that time had equal right there with the *English*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *British* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and near, three years after he dy'd at *Gloster*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Colon Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both slain in the Battle against *Anlaf*. He was thirty years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in wisdom from his Childhood, comly of person and behaviour ; so that *Afred* his Grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child

941.

Sax. An.

Malmsb.

Ingulf.

Child into Souldiers habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfred* his Aunt, of whose Vertues more than female we have related, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the Royal Line disdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmesbury* daies (for it seems he refus'd not the authority of Ballats for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamt one night she brought forth a Moon that should enlighten the whole Land: which the Kings Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courteously; that the King coming one day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Atbolstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmesbury* sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who sought his Friendship by great gifts or affinity; that *Harold* King of *Norwic* sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from *Norwic*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at York. His Sisters he gave in marriage to greatest Princes, *Elgif* to *Ordo* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, spring of *Charles* the Great, *Esbild* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who sent *Al-*  
*duif*

*dulf* Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France* came rich presents, Horses of excellent breed, Gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of *Onyx*, and other precious things, which I leave Poetically describ'd in *Adamsbury*, tak'n, as he confesses, out of an old versifier; some of whose Verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the treason wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath bin said, which add also that *Athelstan*, his anger over, soon repented of the Fact, and put to death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovering himself on the other leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it proved, One Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondring how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the adviser of that Fact, took on him seav'n years penance, and as *Mat. West.* saith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other Saxon Kings to this day.

Edmund.

*Edmund.*

**E**dmund not above eighteen years old succeeded his Brother *Athelstan*, in courage not inferior. For in the second of his Reign he free'd *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Citties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leister*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it seems gave not good proof of their fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* setting forth from *Tork*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leister*; but that e're the Battails joyn'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulstan* the two Arch-bishops, with conversion of *Anlaf*; for the same year *Edmund* receay'd at the Font-stone this or another *Anlaf*, as saith *Huntingdon*, not him spok'n of before, who dy'd this year (so uncertain they are in the Story of these times also) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Bishop confirm'd him: thir limits were divided North and South by *Watling-street*. But spiritual kindred little avail'd to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now first call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into subjection. *Edmund* the next year harras'd *Cumberland*, than gave it to *Malcolm*

942.

Sax. Ann.

944.

Sax. Ann.

945.

Sax. Ann.

946.

Sax. Ann.

Camden.

*Malcolm King of Scots*, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. West.* adds that in this action *Edmund* had the aid of *Leolin Prince of Northwales*, against *Dunmail the Cumbrian King*, him depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of their sight. But the year after he himself by strange accident came to an untimely death, feasting with his Nobles on *St. Austin's Day* at *Puclekerke in Glostershire*, to celebrate the memory of his first converting the Saxons. He spied *Eeof* a noted Thief, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; whereat transport-ed with too much vehemence of Spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Thief, and catching his hair, pull'd him to the ground. The Thief who doubted from such handling no less than his death intended; thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger strook the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere men set at Table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beast at abbay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The King was buried at *Glaston*; whereof *Dunstan* was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other Saxon Kings.

Edred.

## Edred.

**E**Dred the third Brother of *Athelstan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next Reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predecessors, and Crown'd at *Kingston Northumberland* he throughly subdu'd, the Scots without refusal swore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, soon after chose to themselves one *Eric a Dane*. *Huntingdon* still haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign four years, then again put to his shifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with spoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his rear. *Edred* turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second inroad: which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, slew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many presents appealing *Edred*, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Osulf* was the first. About this time *Wulfstan* Arch-bishop of *York*, accus'd to have slain certain men of *Tbetsford* in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townsmen had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his place. *Malmshury* writes that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countrey-men: But King *Edred* two years

950.

Sim. Dun.

Hoveden.

953.

Sim. Dun.

955. years after lick'ning in the flowr of his youth,  
*Sim. Dun.* dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Win-*  
*chester.*

*Edwi.*

E

*Exhelwerd.* **E** *Dwi* the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age,  
 after his Uncle *Edred's* death took on him  
 the Government, and was Crown'd at *King-*  
*ston.* His lovely person surnamed him the Fair;  
 his actions are diversly reported, by *Hunting-*  
*don* not thought illaudable. But *Malmesbury*  
 and such as follow him write far otherwise,  
 that he married or kept as Concubine, his  
*Mat. West.* neer Kinswoman, some say both her and her  
 Daughter; so inordinatly giv'n to his plea-  
 sure, that on the very day of his Coronation,  
 he abruptly withdrew himself from the Com-  
 pany of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Con-  
 sultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber  
 with this *Algiua*, so was her name, who had  
 such power over him. Whereat his Barons  
 offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest a-  
 mong them, to request his return: he going  
 to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dal-  
 liance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him  
 by the hand, between force and perswasion  
 brought him back to his Nobles. The King  
 highly displeas'd, and instigated perhaps by  
 her who was so prevalent with him, not long  
 after sent *Dunstan* into banishment, caus'd  
 his Monastery to be rifl'd, and became an  
 Enemy to all Monks. Whereupon *Odo* Arch-  
 bishop

bishop of *Canterbury* pronounc't a separation or divorce of the King from *Algiya*. But that which most incited *William* of *Malmsbury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by Secular Priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a Stable of Clerks ; at length these affronts done to the Church were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *West-Hoved Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames* ; 957. with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his dayes, and was buried at *Winchester*. 958. Mean while *Elfsin* Bishop of that place after the death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same year for his Pall, was frozen to death in the *Alps*. *Sax. An. Mat. West.*

*Edgar.*

**E***Edgar* by his Brothers death now King of all *England* at sixteen years of Age, called home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no Warr all his Reign ; yet alwayes well prepar'd for Warr, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries ; as some write, every year one : for he much favour'd the *Mat. West.*

Monks against Secular Priests, who in the time of *Edw.* had got possession in most of thir Covents. His care and wisdome was great in guarding the Coast round with stout Ships, to the number of three thousand six hundred, *Mat. West.* reck'ns them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the Land, meeting each other; the first of one thousand two hundred sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Forein War; but by thir too frequent resort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir Vices unaware. Thence the People, saith *Malmis-bury*, learnt of the Out-landish Saxons rudeneis, of the *Flemish* daintiness and softness; of the *Danes* drunk'neis; though I doubt these Vices are as naturally home-bred heer as in any of those Countreies. Yet in the Winter and Spring-time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see Justice well administerd, and the poor not oppress'd. Theeves and Robbers he routed almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of prey altogether; enjoining *Lud-mal* King of *Wales* to pay the yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the

the cause he was not Crown'd till the 30th of his Age; but then with great splendour and magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feast of *Pentecost*. This year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142 year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th in that Fenny and watrish Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next year went to *Chester*, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them: thir names are *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maccuse* of the *Iles*, five of *Wales*, *Duswal*, *Hlewel*, *Grifith*, *Jacob*, *Judetbil*, these he had in such aw, that going one day into a Gally; he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himself sat at the Stern: which might be done in meriment and easily obey'd; if with a serious brow, discover'd rather vain glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then utter'd, That his Successors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had such Honour done them. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeas'd with him for taking too much Honour to himself; since we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this life by sickness in the height of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaston* Abby. The same year, as *Mat. West.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scottish* King, many rich presents, and the whole Countrey of *Laudian*, or *Lothien*, to hold of him on condition that he and his Suc-

973.

*Sax. An.*

*Ingulf.*

974.

*Sax. Ann.*

975.

cessors should repair to the *English* Court at high Festivals when the King sat Crown'd ; gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of *Henry* the Second were still held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and dislik'd nothing more than that they should spare him for respect or fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, sitting one day at Table was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, he wonder'd how so many Provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man : His words were brought to the King's Ear ; he sends for *Kened* as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened* ; and now saith he, it shall be try'd which ought to be the subject ; for it is shamefull for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in fight. *Kened* much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spok'n, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement : wherewith the King was satisfi'd. *Camden* in his description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in subjection all the Kingdomes of the Isles as far as *Norway*, and had subdu'd the greatest part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin* : but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth hav-

ing

ing heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Athelwold*, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view tak'n with her presence, disloyally, as it often happ'ns in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the King's mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelwold* had forestall'd the King, and *Elfrida's* Beauty more and more spok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapse of Love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self, what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the King, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had step'd between her and the King, against his coming arraies her self richly, using what ever Art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her love, the more for that he had bin so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolv'd not only to recover his

intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destin'd Spouse, and appointing with him as was usual, a day of hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Some censure this Act as cruel and tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of sensible Spirit, but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to Life what worse Treason could have bin committed against him? It chanc'd that the Earls base Son coming by upon the Fact, the King sternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game; he submissly answering, that whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husbands death, though therein she had no hand, cover'd the place of his bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obstinately in the offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan*, he submitted to seven years penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritt'n. Another story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a History;

ry; but as I find it in *Malmſbury*, ſo I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abſtain'd not from Woemen, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Duke's Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter ſhould be ſo deſlour'd, at ſit time of night ſent in her attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it ſeems not unhandſom nor unwitty; who ſupply'd the place of her young Lady. Night paſſ'd, the Maid going to riſe, but daylight ſcarce yet appearing, was by the King aſkt why ſhe made ſuch haſt, ſhe answer'd, to do the work which her Lady had ſet her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado ſtaying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the Duke's Daughter, ſhe falling at his Feet beſought him, that ſince at the command of her Lady ſhe came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to ſet her free from the hard ſervice of her Miſtreſs. The King a while ſtanding in a ſtudy whether he had beſt be angry or not, at length turning all to a jeſt, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. Theſe only are his faults upon Record, rather to be wonder'd how they were ſo few, and ſo ſoon left, he coming at ſixteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues were ſo many and ſo mature, he dying before the Age wherein Wiſdom can in others attain to any ripeneſs: how-

ever with him dy'd all the Saxon Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praises of thir former Actions and Liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another Book.

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*The End of the Fifth Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BRITAIN:

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BOOK VI.

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*Edward the Younger.*

**E***Dward*, the Eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelseda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right and his Fathers Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her Faction only repineing, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred*, a Child of seven years, preferr'd before him; that she under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were seen in Heav'n, portending not Famin only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The Troubles begun  
in

Florent.

Sim. Dun.

in *Edwin's* dayes, between Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with gifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in thir stead put Secular Priests with thir Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such intruders. To appease these Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing there concluded, a General Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the room wherein they sat fell upon thir heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This accident quieted the Controversie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his Step-mother and her Son *Ethelred*: to whom she displeas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate* (*Corfe*

(*Corfe Castle*, saith *Camden*, in the *He of Purbeck*) innocently went thither. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a Poignard. The poor Youth who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. 978.  
After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsh.* *Malmsh.* *bury* saith, had a hand in his death) he was Royally enter'd at *Skepton*, or *Shaftsbury*. The murtheress *Elfrida* at length repenting spent the residue of her days in sorrow and great penance.

### *Ethelred.*

**E** *Ethelred* second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* 979.  
(for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Malmsh.* *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to succeed, and accordingly Crown'd at *Kingstone*: reported by some, fair of visage, comly of person, elegant of behaviour; but the event will shew, that with many sluggish and ignoble Vices he quickly sham'd his out-  
side; *Florent.* *Sim. Dun.*

side ; born and prolong'd a fatal mischief of the People, and the ruine of his Countrey ; whereof he gave early signs from his first infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him. Whereat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, By God and Gods Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in his Childhood, which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edward's* cruel death, he made loud lamentation ; but his furious Mother offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though unwilling set the Crown upon his head ; but at the same time foretold op'nly, as is reported, the great Evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in avengment of his Brothers innocent blood.

*Sim. Dun.*

982.

*Malmsh.*

And about the same time, one midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all *England* ; and within three years the *Danish* Tempest, which had long surceast, revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Danish* History, at least thir latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Birtbric*, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing ; busied more than enough to make out the bare names and successions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir small actions at home : unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may,

may, from our own Annals ; the surer, and the sadder witnesses of thir doings here, not Glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly Barbarous. For the *Danes* well understanding, that *England* had now a sloathfull King to thir wish, first landing at *Southampton* from seven great Ships, took the Town, spoiled the Country, and carried away with them great pillage ; nor was *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* uninfested on the shoar ; Pirates of *Norway* also harried the Coast of *West-Chester* : and to add a worse Calamity, the City of *London* was burnt, casually or not, is not writt'n. It chanc'd four years after, that *Ethelred* be-seig'd *Rochester*, some way or other offended by the Bishop therof. *Dunstan* not approving the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not *St Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor wast his Lands ; an old craft of the Clergy to secure thir Church-Lands, by entailing them on some Saint ; the King not hark'ning, *Dunstan* on this condition that the seige might be rais'd, sent him a hundred pound, the money was accepted and the seige dissolv'd. *Dunstan* reprehending his avarice, sent him again this word, Because thou hast respected money more than Religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee ; but not in my days, for so God hath spok'n. The next year was Calamitous, bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murren upon Cattel. *Dunstan* the year following dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous without dread of person, and for ought appears, the best of many Ages, if he busied not

Eadmer.

Florent.

Hoved.

Sim. Dun.

Hoved.

986.

Malmsb.

Ingulf.

987.

Malmsb.

988.

Malmsb.

not himself too much in secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Athelstan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much employ'd in Court Affairs, till envid'd by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by *Edmund* forbid'd the Court, but by the earnest mediation, saith *Ingulph*, of *Turkil* the Chancellor, receav'd at length to favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston*, lastly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. Not long after his death, the *Danes*, arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the *Danes*, but with loss of thir own lives. The third year following, under the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Brithnoth* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they slew him; the slaughter else had bin equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the *English* not able to resist, by counsel of *Syric* then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with thir Iron: and ten thousand pound was paid to the *Danes* for Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next year but one they took by storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburgh* an ancient City nigh *Durham*: sailing thence into the mouth of *Humber*, they wasted both sides thereof, *Yorkshire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all

991.  
Sim. Dun.

997.  
Sim. Dun.

all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Fraena*, *Frithegist*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Fathers side, willingly began flight, and forsook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elser* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for some offence had banish'd, but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprise the *Danes*, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over-night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, saith *Florent*, perceaving, persu'd, took the Ship, but miss'd of his person; the *Londoners* by chance grappling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, saith my Author, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only escap'd, but with a great Fleet set upon the *English*, took many of thir Ships, and in tryumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to beseige *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with ninety four Gallies. The King for this treason of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted thir beseigers, that they were forc't in one day with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, wasting with Sword and Fire all *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*. Thence horning thir Foot, diffus'd far wider thir outrageous incursions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothful King instead of War-like

*Florent.**Hunting.*

994.

*Sim. Dun.**Malmsh.*

- like opposition in the Field, sends Embassadors to treat about another payment; the Summe promis'd was now 16000; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviteing *Anlaf* to come and visit him at *Andover*: where he was royally enertain'd, some say baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and dismiss'd, with great Presents, promising by Oath to depart, and molest the Kingdome no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of thir rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* sailing about to the West, enter'd *Severn*, and wasted one while *South-Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, till at length they winter'd about *Tavistoc*. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behind them, easie to be imagin'd. In summ, the next year they afflicted *Dorsetshire*, *Hamshire*, and the Ile of *Wight*; by the *English* many resolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the falshood, or discourag'd by the weakness of thir Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themselves. For Souldiers most commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplin'd and conducted. The following year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and beseig'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentish* men assembling, gave them
- Malmsb.*
- Hæring.*
997. *Sim. Dun.*
998. *Sim. Dun.*
999. *Sim. Dun.*

them a sharp encounter, yet that suffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Against these depopulations, the King leavied an Army; but the unskilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoverishing the people, consuming the publick treasure, and more imboldning the Enemy, than if they had sat quiet at home. What cause mov'd the *Danes* next year to pass into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outrageous than before. Mean while the King, to make some diversion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were most planted; there and in the Ile of *Man*, or as *Camden* saith, *Anglesey*, imitating his Enemies in spoiling and unpeopling; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid seige to *Exeter*; but the Cittizens, as those of *London*, valourously defending themselves, they wreck'd thir anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Countrey People of *Somerset* and *Devonshire* assembling themselves at *Penbo*, shew'd their readiness, but wanted a head; and besides, being then but few in number, were easily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at will, with loaded spoils pass'd into the Ile of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorsetshire*, and *Hamshire*, felt again their fury. The *Saxon Annals* write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamshire* men had a bickering with them, wherein *Ethelward* the King's General was slain, adding

1000.

Sim. Dun.

1001.

Sim. Dun.

1002. other things hardly to be understood, and in  
*Sim. Dun.* one ancient Copy ; so end. *Ethelred*, whom  
no adversity could awake from his soft and  
sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fight-  
ing, by the advice of his Peers not unlike him-  
self, sends one of his gay Courtiers, though  
looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a  
third tribute to the *Danes* : they willingly  
hark'n, but the sum is enhaunc't now to  
twenty four thousand Pound, and paid ; the  
*Danes* thereupon abstaining from hostility. But  
the King to strengthen his House by some Po-  
tent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Sax-  
ons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of  
*Malmsb.* *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had  
War, or no good correspondence, as appears  
*Calvisius.* by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15<sup>th</sup>, who made  
peace between them about eleaven years be-  
fore ; puffed up now with his suppos'd access of  
strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes*  
*Florent.* all over *England*, though now living peace-  
*Hunting.* ably, in one day perfidiously to be massacred,  
both Men, Woemen and Children ; sending  
private Letters to every Town and City,  
wherby they might be ready all at the same  
hour ; which till the appointed time (being  
*Calvisius.* the 9<sup>th</sup> of *July*) was conceal'd with great si-  
lence, and perform'd with much unanimity ;  
so generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. West.*  
writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes*  
was ten years after ; that *Hania* one of *Ethel-  
red's* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Da-  
nish* Insolencies in time of Peace, thir Pride,  
thir ravishing of Matrons and Virgins, incited  
the

the King to this Massacher, which in the madness of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, *Gunbildis* the Sister of *Swane* was not spar'd, though much deserv-  
 ing not pittty only, but all protection: she with her Husband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving Christianity, had her Husband and young Son slain before her face, her self then beheaded; foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost *England* dear. Some say this was done by the Tray-  
 tor *Edric*, to whose custody she was committed; but the Massacher was som years before *Edric's* advancement; and if it were done by him afterward, it seems to contradict the private correspondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing  
 revenge, hasted the next year into *England*, and by the treason or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonshire*, sack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from East to West-gate, brok'n down: after this wasting *Wiltshire*, the People of that County, and of *Hampshire*, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him, but *Alfric* thir General, whose Sons Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he should have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd himself tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great discontent, destitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who streight took *Wilton* and *Salisbury*.

Mat. West.

1003.

Sim. Dun.

- ry, carrying the pillage thereof to his Ships.
1004. Thence the next year landing on the Coast of  
*Sim. Dun.* *Norfolk*, he wasted the Country, and set *Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his Forces, after Consultation had, thought it best to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, issued silently out of his Ships, came to *Tbetford*, staid there a night, and in the Morning left it flaming. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrecy and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out 'against the Enemy, and gave them a fierce Onset retreating to their Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the Chief *East-Angles*, there lost thir lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great slaughter of thir own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a charge.
1005. The next year, whom Warr could not, a  
*Sim. Dun.* great Famine drove *Swane* out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great
1006. Fleet of *Danes* enter'd the Port of *Sandwich*,  
*Sim. Dun.* thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Sussex*, made prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; But they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy  
 Camp,

Camp, following thir wonted Course of robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the Kings Army, which gone home to winter, they carried all thir pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropshire*, and but ill imploy'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a Noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Ashdune*, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronounciation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got safe with vast booty to thir Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir last Summers jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsome for thir soft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to thir last and only remedy, thir Coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty six thousand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk such easie Kine) in name of Tribute and expences: which out of the People over all *England*, already half begger'd, was extorted and paid. About the same time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, surnam'd *Streon*, from obscure condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the King's Daughter.

Florent.

1007.

Sim. Dun.

1008.  
Sim. Dun.

ter. The cause of his advancement, *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Mat. West.* attribute to his great wealth, gott'n by fine policies and a plausible tongue: he prov'd a main accessory to the ruin of *England*, as his actions will soon declare. *Ethelred* the next year somewhat rowling himself, ordain'd that every three hundred and ten Hides (a Hide is so much Land as one Plow can sufficiently Till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corset and Head-piece: new Ships in every Port were builded, vittl'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. *Bithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falsely accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potency of his Enemies, with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpris'd, *Bithric* sets forth with eighty Ships; all which driv'n back by a Tempest and wrackt upon the shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Disheart'nd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coasting to  
*Sandwich*,

1009.  
Sim. Dun.

*Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and East *Kentish* men, coming to composition with them for three thousand Pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskillfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hinderd from exercising thir wonted Robberies. It happnd that the *Danes* one day were gone up into the Country, far from thir Ships, the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantagious; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *E-dric* with futtle arguments that had a shew of deep policy, disputed and perswaded the simplicity of his Fellow Counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without ambush or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, pass'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls't as oft to thir great loss. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they pass'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Forces wasted on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army

1010.

Sim. Dun.

Florent.

from *London* was marcht out against them, they on the North-side, passing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one body, and, enrich't with great spoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Easter*, sailing to the *East-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipswich*, and came to a place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketel* with his Forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertain'd them; but his men at length giving back, through the fittlety of a *Danish* Servant among them who began the flight, lost the field, though the Men of *Cambridgeshire* stood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelstan* the King's Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, was slain; whereby the *Danes* without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fens; burnt *Tbetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly place not far off, call'd by *Huntingdon Balesham*, by *Camden Gogmagog Hills*, and the Villages therabout they turn'd thir fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole *Danish* Army. They therefore so leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horse by Land through *Essex*, return'd back lad'n to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But many dayes pass'd not between, when sailing again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Dens, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordshire*, and added to thir prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordshire*; then like

Hunting.

like wild Beasts gluttet, returning to thir Caves. A third excursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt *Northampton*, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the *West-Saxons*, and in like sort harrasing all *Wiltshire*, return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts, or rather Sea-Monsters to thir Water-stables, accomplishing by *Christmas* the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjust and inhumane Nation, who receaving or not receaving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their lively-hood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next year repeating the same Cruelties on both sides the *Tbames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, solicited again by the King for Peace, and receaving thir demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they slighted thir Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid seige to *Canterbury*. On the 20th day, by the treachery of *Almere* the Arch-deacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacre as a sport: some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members, Infants pulled from thir Mothers breasts, were either tost on Spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the hair drag'd and ravish't. *Alfage* the grave Arch-bishop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Counsells and Actions to his might thir known opposer, tak'n, wounded, imprison'd in a noisom Ship;

1011.  
Sim. Dun.  
Eadmer.  
Malmsb.  
Eadmer.

the

1012.

Sim. Dun.

Edmer.

the multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the next year before *Easter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were assembl'd at *London*, to raise now the fifth Tribute amounting to forty eight thousand pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the Arch-bishop, who had bin now seav'n months thir Prisoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three thousand pound ; which he refuseing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his Tennants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to consider ; then hal'd before their Council, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and still refuseing, they rise most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of thir Axes, then thrust forth deliyer him to be pelted with stones ; till one *Thorun* a converted *Dane*, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain ; with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his Axe on the head dispatch'd him. His Body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the Tribute paid and peace so oft'n violated sworn again by the *Danes*, they dispers'd thir Fleet ; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir Chief staid at *London* with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend his Land against all Strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloath'd by him. But this voluntary friendship of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitfull, that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to *Swane*, when it would be most seasonable to come. In *July* therfore of the next year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made

1013.

Sim. Dun.

no stay there, but sailing first to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landing and encamp'd at *Gainsborough*: whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* thir Earl; those of *Lindsey* also, then those of *Fisburg*, and lastly all on the North of *Watling-street* (which is a high way from East to West Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horses and Provision for his Army, taking with him besides Bands and Companies of thir Choicest Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and Hostages; he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exercise all Acts of Hostility; with the terror whereof fully executed, he took in few dayes the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence tending to *London*, in his hasty passage over the *Thames*, without seeking Bridge or Ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his Expedition against *London* prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherein the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was stoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his course, after usual havock made, he sate a while and refresh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonshire*, and other great Officers in the West yielded him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his Navy, from that time stil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, saith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* also sent him Hostages, and made

Malmib.

1014.  
Sim. Dun.  
Mat. West.

made thir Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc't to narrow compass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treasure to *Richard* the II. her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with the *Danish* Fleet abode some while at *Greenwich*, then sailing to the Ile of *Wight*, pass'd after *Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other Woemen. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the People, spoiling them when he list'd; besides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next year beginning, *Swane* sickens and dies; some say terrifi'd and smitt'n by an appearing shape of *S<sup>t</sup> Edmund* arm'd, whose Church at *Bury* he had threat'nd to demolish; but the Authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of *S<sup>t</sup> Edmund*. After his death the *Danish* Army and Fleet made his Son *Conute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* sent Messengers to *Ethelred*, declareing that they preferr'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward* with Embassadors to Court both high and low, and win thir Love, promising largely to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all things to thir will, follow thir counsel, and whatever had been done or spok'n by any man against

against him freely to pardon; if they would loyally restore him to be thir King. To this the People cheerfully answer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides. An Embassey of Lords is sent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent* and is joyfully receav'd of the people, marches with a strong Army against *Canute*; who having got Horses, and joyn'd with the men of *Lindsey*, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries adjoyning; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederates of *Lindsey* left to the anger of thir Country-men, executed without mercy both by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all hast sailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hostages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with slit Noses, Ears crott, and Hands chop't off, setting them ashore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them thirty thousand pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To these Evils the Sea in *October* pass'd his bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of thir Inhabitants many thousands. The year following, an Assembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seav'nburg* to his Lodging, secretly murder'd them: the King, for what cause is unknown, seis'd thir Estates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth* to be kept at *Maidulfsburg*, now *Malmesbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married  
against

1015.  
Sim. Dun.

*Malmsh.*

*Leges Ed.  
Conf. Tit.  
deduct.  
Norman.*

*Encom. Em.*

against his Fathers minde, then went and possess'd thir Lands, making the People there subject to him. *Mat. West.* saith, that these two were of the *Danes* who had seated themselves in *Northumberland*, slain by *Edric* under colour of Treason laid to thir charge. They who attended them without; tumulting at the death of thir Masters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, and defending themselves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms, and all Provision; and, which *Encomium Emma* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Smeden*, *Olav* of *Normay*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and as the same Author then living writes, sent out spies to discover what resistance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain report, that a great Army of *English* was in readinesse to oppose them. *Turkill*, who upon the arrival of those *Danish* Powers, kept faith no longer with the *English*, but joyning now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himself after his revolt, whether real or complotted, counsell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this first Battel; the King assented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of those which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to thir wish encounter'd the *English*, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scorastan*; and was at first beaten back with much loss. But at length animating his Men with Rage  
only

only and Despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great reward and possessions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other writer makes mention: from *Sandwich* therefore sailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing over all *Dorset*, *Summerset*, and *Wiltshire*, he spread wastfull Hostility. The King *Camden.* lay then sick at *Cosham* in this County; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Stroom* in another, rais'd Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice against the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great advantage. *Edric* easily enticing the forty Ships of *Danes* to side with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *West-Saxons* also gave pledges and furnished him with Horses. By which means the year ensuing, he with *Edric* the Traytor, passing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about twelftide, enter'd into *Mercia*, and espically *Warwickshire*, depopulating all places in thir way. Against these, Prince *Edmund*, for his hardiness call'd *Ironside*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unless *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and so every man return'd home. After the Festival, *Edmund* gathering another Army, besought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what force besides he was able; they came with great strength gott'n together, but being come, and in a hopefull way of good success,  
it

1016.

*Sim. Dun.*

it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the Enemy, disbanded his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with Earl *Utbred* on the one side, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little else but waste the Provinces; *Canute* to Conquer them, *Edmund* to punish them who stood neuter; for which cause *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Lestershire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruineing the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing dismiss'd his Forces, and came to *London*. *Utbred* the Earl halted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself with all the *Northumbrians*, giving hostages to *Canute*. Nevertheless by his command or connivence, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Danish* Lord; *Utbred* was slain, and *Iric* another *Dane* made Earl in his stead. This *Utbred* Son of *Walteof*; as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatise of the Seige of *Durham*, in his youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdome was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid seige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*; a strong Town, but *Utbred* gathering an Army rais'd the Seige, slew most of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly escaping, and with the heads  
of

of thir slain fixt upon Poles beset round the Walls of *Durham*. The year of this exploit *Simeon* cleers not, for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred* as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyfull of his success, before *Easter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* ensueing, *Ethelred* after a long, troublesome, and ill govern'd Reign, ended his days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of *St Paul*.

### *Edmund Ironside.*

**A**fter the decease of *Ethelred*, they of the *Florent.* Nobility who were then at *London*, together, with the Citizens, chose *Edmund* his *Aetred in* Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the *Ed. Conf.* Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Fathers room; but the Arch-bishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both Religious and Secular, to be thir faithfull Lord. But *Edmund* with all speed going to the *West-Saxons*, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir *Florent.* King, and of many other Provinces by thir *Sim. Dna.* example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then causing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* side, turn'd the stream and drew his

Ships thether West of the Bridge ; then begirring the City with a broad and deep trench, assail'd it on every side ; but repulst as before by the valourous Defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, e're *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his Powers : who yet with such as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the *Danes* at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After Mid-summer, encreast with new Forces, he met with him again at a place call'd *Sherastan*, now *Sbarstan* ; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, then siding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Day light returning renew'd the Conflict ; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to disheart'n the *English* cuts off the Head of one *Osmer*, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the *English*, that *Edmund* being slain and this his Head, it was time for them to fie ; which fallacy *Edmund* perceiving, and op'nly shewing himself to his Souldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him, yet slew one next him, and through him another behinde, they recover'd heart, and lay fore upon the *Danes* till night parted them as before : for e're the third morn, *Canute* sensible of his loss, march'd away by stealth to his Ships at *London*, renewing there his League.

*Malmsh.*

Leagre. Some would have this Battel at *Sherastan* the same with that at *Scorastan* before mention'd, but the circumstance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Proceſs of things appears: from *Sberastan* or *Sbarstan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *West-Saxons*, whose Valour *Edric* fearing, lest it might prevail against the *Danes*, sought pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it swore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *West-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Seige, chafeing *Canute* and his *Danes* to thir Ships. Then after two dayes passing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and so coming on thir backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *West-Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Siege; but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *Averne*; and from the Banks therof waſted *Mercia*; thence thir Horſe by Land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multipli'd Forces out of many Shires, croſſing again at *Branford*, came in to *Kent*, seeking *Canute*; encounter'd him at *Oxford*; and ſo defeated, that of his Horſe, they who eſcap'd fled to the Ile of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* ſtill the Traytor by ſome wile or other detain'd his perſuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be ſo miſ-led, ever after forſak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* croſſing with his Army into

Camden.

*Essex*, thence waſted *Mercia* worſe than before, and with heavy prey return'd to his Ships: them *Edmund* with a collected Army perſueing, overtook at a place call'd *Aſſandune*, or *Aſſeſhill*, now *Aſhdown* in *Essex*; the Battel on either ſide was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceiving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match't with numbers: by which deſertion the *Engliſh* were overthrow'n, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility ſlain, ſo as the *Engliſh* of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not abſurdly call'd *Ironſide*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, adviſcing him to make Peace and divide the Kingdome with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* ouer-rul'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorbirſt* in *Glouſterſhire*; *Edmund* on the Weſt-ſide of *Severn*, *Canute* on the Eaſt with thir Armies, then both in perſon waſted into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olanege*, now *Alney* in the miſt of the River; ſwearing Amity and Brother-hood, they parted the Kingdome between them. Then interchanging Armes and the habit they wore, aſſeſſing alſo what pay ſhould be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this interview, and the cauſe therof,

Camden.

Camden.

therof, others write otherwise; *Malmsbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should Reign, of his own accord sent to *Canute*, offering him single Combate, to prevent in thir own Cause the effusion of more blood than thir own; that *Canute* though of courage anough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his body of small Timber, against a man of Iron sides, refus'd the Combate, offering to divide the Kingdom; this offer pleasing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should Rule the *West-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. West.* relates, That the Peers on every side wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to Reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir Lists, the Combate Knightly; till *Knute* finding himself too weak, began to parle, which ended as is said before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the feast of *St. Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grand-father at *Glaston*. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common Fame, saith *Malmsbury*, laies the guilt therof upon *Edric*, who to please *Canute*, allur'd with promise of Reward two

of the Kings Privy Chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the Stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to Reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? they who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his anger, timorously answer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethern, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be thir Guardian, till they came to age of Reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of Reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

### *Canute, or Knute.*

1017.  
*Sim. Dun.*  
*Sax. Ann.*

**C***anute* having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receav'd thir Oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; whereupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* Crown'd. Then they enacted,

enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, should be banish't the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in private, with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards, receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or some other of his false friends, *Canute* contriving it, the same year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the Fact would seem too foul done in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the German Emperour. A digression in the Lawes of *Edward* Confessor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* saith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malefclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd him honourably, and of that Countrey gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made Peace with all Princes round a-

bout him, and his former Wife being dead, in July married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Christmas* following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of *Edric* fixt on a Pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double sence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the Kings intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the Kings command struck off his head. Other great men though without fault, as Duke

*Encom. Em.* *Norman* the Son of *Leofrin*, *Ethelward* Son of *Inguif.* Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the same

1018. still his Army; to maintain which, the next  
*Sim. Dun.* year he squeez'd out of the *English*, though  
*Hunting.* now his Subjects, not his Enemies, seventy  
*Mat. West.* two, some say, eighty two thousand pound,  
 besides fifteen thousand out of *London*. Mean  
 while great Warr arose at *Carr*, between  
*Utbred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of

*Scots*,

*Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But heer *Simeon* the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain *Utbred* by *Canute* two years before, and set *Eric* in his place: *Eric* therefore it must needs be, not *Utbred*, who manag'd this Warr against the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. West.* faith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next year *Canute* sail'd into *Denmarke*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.* say, he went thether to repress the *Swedes*, and that the night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp with his *English*, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprise, though against Discipline, he had the *English* in more esteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Easter* a great Assembly at *Chirchester*, and the same year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Affendune*, in the place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his Greatness, the year following banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the same jealousy. Nor yet content with his Conquest of *England*, though now above ten years enjoy'd, he pass'd with fifty Ships into *Norway*, dispossest *Olave* their King, and subdu'd the Land, first with great  
 summes

1019.  
*Sim. Dun.*

1020.  
*Sim. Dun.*

1021.  
*Sim. Dun.*  
*Malmsh.*

1028.  
*Sim. Dun.*

- summes of money sent the year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to compell the rest. Thence returning King of
1029.  
*Sim. Dun.* *England, Denmarke, and Norway*, yet not secure in his mind, under colour of an Embassey he sent into banishment *Hacun* a powerfull *Dane*, who had married the Daughter of his Sister *Gunildis*, having conceav'd some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was tak'n, that he never came back; either perishing at Sea, or slain by contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Canute* therefore having thus establish't himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, sailing again into *Denmarke*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to *St. Peter* great gifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; besides the usual Tribute of *Romscot*, giving great Alms by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many places of Custome and Toll with great expence, where strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great amendment of life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large Letter writt'n from *Rome* yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to *St. Edmund* at *Bury*, whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the Secular Priests who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir stead; then going into *Scotland*, subdu'd and receav'd homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three years after having made
1030.  
*Sim. Dun.*
1031.  
*Sim. Dun.*
- Hunting.*
1032.  
*Sim. Dun.*
- Hunting.*  
1035.  
*Sim. Dun.*

made *Swane* his suppos'd Son by *Algiwa* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfbelms* Daughter (for others say the Son of a Priest whom *Algiwa*, barren, had got ready at the time of her feigned labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* *Florent.* his Son by *Emma* King of *Denmarke*, and design'd *Harold* his Son by *Algiwa* of *Northampton* King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monastery.

This King, as appears, ended better than he *Florent.* began, for though he seems to have had no hand in the death of *Ironside*, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had op'nly related the manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deserved punishment, yet he spar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Authour of that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquisht, then extinguisht *Edmund* for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a chang'd countenance, Traytor to God and to me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master my Confederate Brother, and the Lords Anointed. Whereupon although present and *Malmsh.* privat Execution was in rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himself in cool blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better right to be the Lords Anointed heer than himself. When he had obtain'd

obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he sought the Love of his conquer'd Subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his Wealth and State, for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the Ancient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had done aught amiss in his Youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for Fear of him, or Favour of any person, or to enrich the King, they suffer injustice to be done in the Land; commands his Treasurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by *Denmarke*, to compose matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great Ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attain'd the utmost of their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeas'd by their seeking to bribe him with a share however large of their ill-gott'n spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was Famous through

through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from Toll and Custome. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to shew the small Power of Kings in respect of God ; which, unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the shoar, while the Tide was coming in ; and with all the State that Royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the Sea : Thou Sea belongst to me, and the Land wheron I sit is mine ; nor hath any one unpunish't resisted my Commands : I charge thee come no further upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and dashed him. Wherat the King quickly rising, wish'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to shame his Court Flatterers, who would not else be convinc't, *Canute* needed not to have gone wet-shod home : The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

*Harold.*

## Harold.

Florent.

Bromton.

Hunting.

Mat. West.

Mat. West.

Encom.

Em.

1026.

Sim. Dun.

**H**arold for his swiftneſs ſurnam'd *Hare-foot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiua* of *Northampton* (though ſome ſpeak doubtfully as if ſhe bore him not, but had him of a Shoemakers Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenneſs) in a great Aſſembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Father's Teſtament, elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Ælnoth* the Arch-biſhop having in his Cuſtody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to infer) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him, ſtood for *Hardeknute*. *Malmsbury* ſaith, that the Conteſt was between *Dane* and *Engliſh*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Daniſh*, were all for *Hardeknute*; but he being then in *Denmarke*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet ſo as that the Kingdome ſhould be divided between them; the *West* and *South* part reſerv'd by *Emma* for *Hardeknute*; till his return. But *Harold* once advanc't into the Throne, baniſh'd *Emma* his Mother-in-law, ſeiz'd on his Father's Treasuſe at *Wincheſter*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it ſafe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Baſtard was yet under Age, retir'd

retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Alfred* and *Edward* Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a small number of *Norman* Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit their Mother *Emma* not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to see how the People were inclin'd to restore them their Right; *Elfred* was sent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming friendship entertain'd him, was in the night surpriz'd and made Prisoner, most of his Company put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the King sent bound to *Ecly*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in thir Custody. *Malmsbury* gives little credit to this Story of *Elfred*, as not Chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, sent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all speed into *Normandy*. But the Authour of *Encomium Emmae*, who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the Cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for op'nly he durst not) against the Life of *Emma*, sought many treacherous wayes to get her Son within his Power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of their Mother,

ther, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces writt'n to this purpose.

**E**Mma in name only *Queen*, to her Sons *Edward* and *Alfrid* imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our Lord the King, most Dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel yee take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthening to the Reign of your U-surper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threats. But they had much rather one of you should Reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now Over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholesome Counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplished. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell; as dear both as my own Heart.

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by express Messengers, with Presents also as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. *Alfrid* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about

about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of Earl *Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly sorrowing for the loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediatly with some of the Nobles her faithfullest adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Burges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years, she was visited out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when *Harold* in *England*, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the Taxing of every Port at eight Marks of Silver to sixteen Ships, dy'd at *London*, some say, at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both *Danes* and *English* now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to come and receive as his Right the Scepter, who before *Midsomer* came with sixty Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

1039.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Hunting.*

1040.

*Sim. Dun.*

*Malmsh.*

### *Hardecnute.*

**H***ardecnute* receav'd with Acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the injuries done to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Arch-bishop, of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the body

X

of

of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the *Danes*, it was interr'd again with honour. This done he levied a fore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet should be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were so forward to call him over, had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Bishop of *Worster*, about the death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Arch-bishop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round summe restor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a sumptuous Present, a gally with a guilded stem bravely rigg'd, and eighty Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing sixteen ounces, Helmet, Corset, and Hilts of his Swords guilded; a *Danish* Curtax list'd with Gold or Silver, hung on his left shoulder, a Shield with boss and nailes guilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce: besides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own counsel or will, but by the command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfred's* Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves or in his behalf. The next year, *Har-*  
decnute

*Malmsb.*

1041:

*Sim. Dun.*

*decmute* sending his Housecarles, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were slain at *Worster* by the People; whereat the King enrag'd, sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commission to slay the Citizens, rife and burn the City, wast the whole Province. Affrighted with such news, all the People fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Cittizens to a small Iland in *Severn*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortifi'd and defended stoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their City they found sack't and burnt; wherewith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others; that toward his half Brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he shew'd himself alwayes tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindness receav'd, remain'd safely and honourably in his Court, But *Hardecmute* the year following, at a Feast where-  
in *Osgod* a great *Danish* Lord gave his Daughter in Marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon* another Potent *Dane*; in the midst of his mirth, found and healthfull to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at *Winchester* beside his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good chere; sitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Dishes, and superfluity to all Commers. Whereas, saith *Huntingdon*, in our

1042.  
*Sim. Dun.*

Time Princes in thir Houses made but one meal a day. He gave his Sister *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry* the *Alman* Emperour; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a wonder that our Historians, if they deserve that name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so neer thir own time, so much differ. *Huntingdon* relates against the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the *English* rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the *Danish* yoke, sent over to *Elfrid* the Eldest Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisoner at *Eely*, sent thether by *Harold* six years before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men to receive the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a simple youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit than to accept her, perswaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many *Normans*, had promis'd them Lands here, that it was not safe to suffer a Warlike and suttle Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King; thereupon by common consent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with hostages to be left there of their

their faithfull intentions to make him King, and their desires not to bring over with him many *Normans*; that *Edward* at thir call came then first out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his death. For *Hardecnute* dead, saith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin*, desiring therefore by Messengers to have private speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whither out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it should be all his to set him on his Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to

whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States thereupon met *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd op'nly with the death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

### *Edward the Confessor.*

1043.  
*Sim. Dun.*

**G**Lad were the *English* deliver'd so unexpectedly from their *Danish* Masters, and little thought how neer another Conquest was hanging over them. *Edward* the *Easter* following, Crown'd at *Winchester*, the same year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, came again thether on a sudden, and by their Counsel seis'd on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*. The cause alleg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and therafter the Childern by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also King *Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, commended much for Beauty,

*Malmsb.*

ty, Modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woeman, Learning. *Inguif* then a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Edward* the next year but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich* against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threat'nd an Invasion; had not *Swane* King of *Denmark* diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the *Danes*, banishing *Gunildis* the Neece of *Cannute* with her two Sons, and *Osgod* by surname *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* overpowered by *Magnus*, sent the next year to entreat Aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counsel to send him fifty Ships fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gain-saying, none were sent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* sending Embassadors, made Peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worster* and *Darby*, Pestilence and Famine in many places, much less'nd the enjoyment thereof. The next year *Henry* the Emperour displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, had streit'nd him with a great Army by Land; and sending to King *Edward*, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by Sea. The King therfore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean

1045.

Sim. Dun.

1046.

Sim. Dun.

1047.

Sim. Dun.

1048.

Sim. Dun.

1049.

Sim. Dun.

while *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbess of *Chester* by him deflour'd, had left the Land, came out of *Denmark* with eight Ships, feigning a desire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Cousin German, who commanded part of the Kings Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldome might be restor'd him. *Godwin* therefore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevensey* (but *Godwin* soon departing thence in pursuit of twenty nine *Danish* Ships who had got much booty on the Coast of *Essex*, and perish'd by tempest in their return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevensey*, guilefully requests him to sail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but *Swane* set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dertmouth*, slew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Hastings* took six of his Ships and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he escap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining till *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster* by earnest mediation wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King *Edward* sent to Pope *Leo*, desiring absolution from a Vow, which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to *Rome*, if God voutsaf'd him to Reign in England;

Mat. West.

gland; the Pope dispenc'd with his Vow, but not without the expence of his journey giv'n to the poor, and a Monastery built or re-edified to *S<sup>t</sup> Peter*: who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large privileges and revennues. The same year, saith *Florent of Worster*, certain *Irish* Pirats with thirty six Ships enter'd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the Aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the River *Wey*, burnt *Duned-bam*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster*, with a few out of *Gloster* and *Herefordshire*, went out in hast: but *Griffin* to whom the *Welsh* and *Irish* had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the *English* with his whole power by night, and early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next year but one, King *Edward* remitted the *Danish* Tax, which had continu'd thirty eight years heavy upon the Land since *Ethelred* first paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd thereof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence *Ingulf* laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the *English*; while studying gratitude to those *Normans*, who to him in exile had bin helpfull; he call'd them over to public Offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the *Norman* Conquest.

1051.  
Sim. Dun.

Ingulf.

Malmsb.

Conquest. *Robert* a Monk of that Country, who had bin serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain Bishop of *Dorchester*. Then began the *English* to lay aside their own Ancient Customes, and in many things to imitate *French* Manners, the great Peers to speak *French* in thir Houses, in *French* to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, asham'd of thir own: a presage of thir subjection shortly to that people, whose Fashions and Language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave beginning to many Troubles ensueing, happ'nd this year, and upon this occasion. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey* who won *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Sister, having bin to visit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by Force in a House there, provok'd so the Master thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the House where his Servant had bin kill'd, slew both the slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping; ran back with clamour to the King; whom seconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great anger against the Cittizens of *Canterbury*.  
Earl

Earl *Godwin* in haste is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Cittizens thereof as Enemies. *Godwin*, sorry to see Strangers more favour'd of the King than his Native People, answer'd, that it were better to summon first the Chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfie the King whose peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd: till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeased with his refusal, and not knowing how to compell him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloster*, where the matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to summons; but *Godwin* mistrusting his own Cause, or the violence of his Adversaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gathered out of his own and his Sons Earldomes, which contain'd most of the South-East and West parts of *England*, came no further than *Beverstan*, giving out that their Forces were to go against the *Welsh*, who intended an irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army therabout. The *Welsh* understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before

fore the King, left *Godwin* detected of false accusation in great hatred to all the Assembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Siward* Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithfull to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, sent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Eustace* and his Followers, together with those *Boloignians*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Castle in the Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with treaties and delays, till his summon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The Kings Forces were the flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on; But *Leofric* and the wiser sort detesting Civil War, brought the matter to this accord, that Hostages giv'n on either side, the whole Cause should be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, sent to *Godwin* and his Sons (who with their Powers were come as far as *Southmark*) commanding their appearance unarm'd with only twelve Attendants, and that the rest of their Souldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction deny'd; but to dismiss their Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with

*Sim. Dun.*

with honour and the just regard of thir safety. This answer not pleasing the King, an Edict was presently issu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five dayes depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons; *Tosti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*; with as much Treasure as their Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, sail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith Tosti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then hostage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Bristow*, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, pass'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* persueing his displeasure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His reason of so doing was as *Malmsh* harsh as his act, that she only, while her nearest Relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honourably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, saith *Ingulf*, no mention thereof pass'd between them) then after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismiss'd, he return'd home. The next year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried

1052. buried at *Winchester*. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkshire* Abbot, but rather of some nameless Author living under *Edward* the Third, or later, reports that the year before, by *Robert* the Arch-bishop she was accus'd both of consenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing poyson for *Edward* also; lastly of too much familiarity with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*; that to approve her innocence, praying overnight to *St Swithun*, she offer'd to pass blind-fold between certain Plow-shares red hot, according to the Ordalian Law, which without harm she perform'd; that the King thereupon receav'd her to honour, and from her and the Bishop, penance for his credulity; that the Arch-bishop asham'd of his Accusation fled out of *England*: which besides the silence of Ancienter Authors (for the Bishop fled not till a year after) brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in the memory of this deliverance from the Nine burning Plow-shares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of Saint *Swithune* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* wasted *Herefordshire*; to oppose whom the People of that Country with many *Normans*, garrison'd in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Armes, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driv'n away by the *Welsh*. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in  
the

the Confines of *Somerset* and *Dorsetshire*, spoiled many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, slew in fight more than thirty of thir principal men, many of the common sort, and return'd with much booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other side *Malm's* made ready above sixty Ships at *Sandwich* well stor'd with men and provision, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his *Norman* Kindred, enjoyning them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himself lay on ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those *Pirats*. But *Godwin*, whether in a mist, or by other accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of *Kent*, and dispersing secret messengers abroad, by fair words allured the Chief Men of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, and *Essex* to his Party; which news coming to the Kings Fleet at *Sandwich*, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith sail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the Coast, forbearing other hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one Fleet they set forward to *Sandwich*, using all fair means, by the way to encrease their numbers both of Mariners, and Souldiers. The King then at *London*, startl'd at these tydings, gave speedy order to raise Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late,  
for

for *Godwin* within a few dayes after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd had conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring he row'd up in his Gallies along the South Bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of Battel stood on the shore, then turning toward the North-side of the River, where the Kings Gallies lay in some readines, and Land-forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the Souldiers on either side soon declar'd thir resolution not to fight *English* against *English*. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were dissolv'd; *Godwin* and his Sons restor'd to thir former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch't in conscience for the slaughter of *Beorn* his Kinsman; was gone barefoot to *Jerusalem*, and returning home, dy'd by sickness or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin's* Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjust things under the Kings Authority, and giv'n him ill counsel against his People, banish't the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with thir followers, got to Sea. The Archbishop went with his complaint to *Rome*; but returning,

returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same Monasterie from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd thir Castles, and by permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Countries with thir *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The year following *Rhese* Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who by inrodes had done much damage to the *English*, tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the King's appointment, and his head brought to him at *Gloster*. The same year at *Winchester* on the second holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at Table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead: his three Sons *Harold*, *Tosti*, and *Gytha*, forthwith carried him into the Kings Chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had so seis'd him, that the 5<sup>th</sup> day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, saith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking sowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these words, thou O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly upon me: but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of ought done against his life or thy advantage; that after these words, choak't with the morsel tak'n, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, a Woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up *English* Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmark*, whereof she made great gain; but e're long was struck with thunder, and dy'd. The

1043.  
Sim. Dun.

1054. year ensuing, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*,  
*Sim. Dun.* with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the Kings appointment, made an expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish't the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots*; with those *Normans* that went thether, and plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both *English* and *Danes*. Told of his Sons death, he ask'd whether he receav'd his deaths wound before or behind? when it was answer'd before, I am glad, saith he; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside*, might be sent into *England*. *Siward* but one year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*; reported by *Huntingdon* a man of Giant-like stature, and by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and meer soldierly mind. For much disdain'g to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly armed, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and shield to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a Martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are

1055.  
*Sim. Dun.*

are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldome the King bestow'd on *Tosti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible cause, *Huntingdon* faith for treason, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen ships to *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, requesting his Aid against King *Edward*. He assembling his powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former Husband, met two miles distant from *Hereford*; and having horsed the *English* who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his *French* and *Normans*, beginning to file, taught the *English* by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minster, burnt the Monasterie and Reliques, then the City; killing some, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great spoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloster* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who strenuously pursuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the di-

- ligence of *Harold*, after many messages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* discharging his Fleet with pay at *West-Chester*, came to the King, and was restor'd to his Earldom. But *Griffin* with breach of Faith, the next year set upon *Leofgar* the Bishop of *Hereford* and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glastbrig* with *Agelnoth* Vicount of the Shire, and slew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward* by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next year *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironside*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had sent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, design'd Successor to the Crown; but within a few dayes after his coming dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old age, a man of no less Vertue than Power in his time, Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a Woman of great praise. His Son *Algar* found less favour with King *Edward*, again banish't the year after his Father's death; but he again by the aid of *Griffin*, and a Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom. The next year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to visit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Tosti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he swore Brotherhood: yet the next year but one, while *Tosti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn Brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly
1056.  
*Sim. Dun.*
1057.  
*Sim. Dun.*
1058.  
*Sim. Dun.*
1059.  
*Sim. Dun.*
1061.  
*Sim. Dun.*

roughly harrafs'd *Northumberland*. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inrodes and robberies of *Griffin*, whom no bonds of Faith could restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after *Christmas*, *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons*, with no great body of Horse from *Gloster*, where he than kept his Court, whose coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap't hardly by Sea, e're *Harold* coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloster* the same day: but by the middle of *May* setting out with a Fleet from *Bristow*, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Tosti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to waste the Country; but the *Welsh* giving pledges, yeilded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next year tak'n and slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North-Wales*; his Head, with the head and tackle of his Ship sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his gentleness made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his stead; they to *Harold* in behalf of the King swore Fealty and Tribute. Yet the next year *Harold* having built a fair house at a place call'd *Portascith* in *Monmouth-shire*, and stor'd it with provision, that the King might lodge there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* slain the year before, came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took

1062.  
*Sim. Dun.*

1063.  
*Sim. Dun.*

1064:  
*Sim. Dun.*

1065.  
*Sim. Dun.*  
*Camden.*

away the provision. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tosti* thir Earl, slew more than two hundred of his Souldiers and Servants, pillaged his Treasure, and put him to flie for his life. The cause of this Insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tosti's* behalf, *Gospatric* a Noble Man of that Countrey to be treacherously slain in the Kings Court; and that *Tosti* himself the year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf* two other of thir Noble Men, besides his intolerable exactions, and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Countrey coming up to complain of thir grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tosti's* request had sent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the cruelty of his Government, and thir own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyrannie of any Governour whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing reason, all the accomplices of *Tosti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself banish't the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another cause of *Tosti's* banishment, that one day at *Windsor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Tosti* envying to see his younger Brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair, the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants rushing

rushing between, and *Tosti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury rideing to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an entertainment for the King, came to the House and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of some, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the Kings drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sous he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for his barbarous Act the King pronounced him banisht; that the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at the Kings displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be reveng'd of his cruelties done to themselves; but this no way agrees, for why then should *Harold* or the King so much labour with the *Northumbrians* to re-admit him, if he were a banisht man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happ'd that *Harold* putting to Sea one day for his pleasure, in a Fisher Boat, from his Mannor at *Bosham* in *Sussex*, caught with a Tempest too far off Land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontieu*, on whose Coast he was driv'n, at his own request brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great courtesie, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Castle of *Dover* then in his tenure, but the Kingdom also after King *Edward's* death to his utmost endeavour, therup-

*Malsb.*

*Leges Ed.*  
*Conf. Tit.*  
*Lex Noric.*

on bethrothing the Dukes Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say that King *Edward* himself after the death of *Edward* his Nephew, sent *Harold* thether, on purpose to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: but *Malmsbury* accounts the former story to be the truer. *Ingulf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceiving *Edgar* his Nephew both in body and mind unfit to Govern, especially against the pride and insolence of *Godwins* Sons, who would never obey him; Duke *William* on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before *Harold* came thether. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon such considerations had sent one or other; but Arch-bishop *Robert* was fled the Land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the Kings permission or connivance, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n hostages of *Godwin* and sent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his journey thether would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own reproach; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* e're his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if he ever attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Successor after him. Last of these *Mathew Paris* writes, that *Harold*

*rold* to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have bin by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret confederacie; so variously are these things reported. After this King *Edward* grew sickly, yet as he was able kept his *Christmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of *St. Peter's* Church in *Westminster*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphanie*, or *Twelftide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entoomb'd. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peasant who had cross'd his Game (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) By God and Gods Mother, said he, I shall do you as shrewd a turn if I can; observing that Law-Maxime, the best of all his Successors, that the King of *England* can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to Factions of those about him, *Normans* especially and *English*; these complaining that *Robert* the Arch-bishop was a sower of dissention between the King and his People, a traducer of the *English*; the other side, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equal share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his simplicity, that through their Power in the Land, they made no scruple to kill men of whose Inheritance they took a likeing, and so to take possession. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boisterously and

1066.

Sim. Dun.

Hunting.

and violently, much against the Kings mind ; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his Wife *Edith Godwin's* Daughter in such averfation, as in Bed never to have touch'd her ; whether for this cause or mistak'n Chastitie, not commendable ; to enquire further is not material. His Lawes held good and just, and long after desir'd by the *English* of thir *Norman* Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puffed up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almsdeeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charitie. He is said to be the first of *English* Kings that cur'd the Disease call'd thence the Kings Evil ; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royaltie, not to his Sanctitie ; said also to have cur'd certain blind men with the water wherein he had wash'd his hands. A little before his Death, lying speechless two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing, told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretell, that because the great Ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Abbots, were not Ministers of God but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to their Enemies ; and when  
he

he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd ; they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them ; at this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Arch-bishop, whom *Edward* much to blame had suffer'd many years to sit Primate of the Church, is said to have laugh't, as at the feavourish Dream of a doteing Old Man ; but the event prov'd it true.

### *Harold Son of Earl Godwin.*

**H***Ar*old, whether by King *Edward* a little *Hoved.*  
before his Death ordain'd Successor to *Florent.*  
the Crown, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others affirm ; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no sooner was the Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the same day was Elected and Crown'd King : and no sooner plac't in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evil doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish Theeves, Robbers, and all disturbers of the Peace, while he himself by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Countrey : so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while  
a blazing

a blazing Star, seven Mornings together, about the end of *April*, was seen to stream terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of the world; foretelling heer, as was thought, the great Changes approaching: plainliest prognosticated by *Elmer* a Monk of *Malmsbury*, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for soaring too high. He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower, spread out to gather Air, he flew more than a Furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Author. But to digress no farder, *Tosti* the King's Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of Envy at his younger Brother's advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therefore them of *Wight*, Ile to Contribution, he sail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coast between. *Harold* then residing at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares in person for *Sandwich*: whereof *Tosti* having notice, directs his course with sixty Ships towards *Lindsey*, taking with him all the Seamen

*Malmsb.*

men he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Countrey. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the *Scottish* King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Embassadors to admonish *Harold* of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, that by the Death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath, or not dead, he could not take her now an Outlandish Woman, without consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the States, he had sworn away the right of the Kingdome; that what he swore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdome, conferr'd upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the People: To this flat denial he added contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Mathew Paris*, on maim'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his Cause, which *Harold*, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the wayes to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the Promise and Oath  
of

of *Harold*, alledg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Stigand* the Arch-bishop, had given him the Right of Succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the gift; the Pope sent Duke *William*, after this demonstration of his Right, a Consecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and stout Souldiers, under Captains of great skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of *S' Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he sails to the Ile of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William's* preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the shoar. But e're the middle of *September*, provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (others less'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tostig* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed, and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouse*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *Torke* by assault. At these tideings *Harold* with all his Power hastes thetherward; but e're his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *Torke*, on the North side of *Ouse*, about the  
Feast

Malmsh.

Math.

Paris.

Feast of St *Mathew* had giv'n them Battel; successfully at first, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc't to turn their backs, more of them perish'd in the River, than in the Fight. The *Norwegians* taking with them five hunderd Hostages out of *York*, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retir'd to their Ships. But the fifth day after King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stam-Camden*. *ford-Bridge*, or *Battell-Bridge* on *Darwent*, assailing the *Norwegians*, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harfager* their King, and *Tosti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, surrendring themselves with Hostages, and Oath giv'n never to return as Enemies, he suffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small remnant of their Army. One man of the *Malmshi* *Norwegians* is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridge a long hour against the whole *English* Army, with his single resistance delai'd their Victorie; and scorning offer'd life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall op'nd the passage of pursuit to a compleat Victorie. Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former shews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers their due, and well deserved share

Sim. Dun.

share of the spoils. While these things thus past in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at Saint *Valerie*; his Ships were readie, but the wind serv'd not for many days; which put the Souldierie into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky signe of thir success; at last the wind came favourable; the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of nine hunderd Ships, with a prosperous gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat. by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier standing by said aloud, that their Duke had tak'n possession of *England*. Landed, he restrain'd his Army from waste and spoil; saying, that they ought to spare what was thir own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cesar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay their Storie. The Duke for fifteen dayes after landing kept his Men quiet within the Camp, having tak'n the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortrefs there. *Harold* secure the while, and proud of his new Victorie, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries w<sup>ch</sup> he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevensey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminish't after two fore Conflicts, and the departing

departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for supplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in hast since the day of his Coronation) and e're the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about nine mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his Enemies : them, discover'd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with meat and drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Dukes Army were most of them Priests ; for they saw thir faces all over shay'n ; the *English* then using to let grow on their upper-lip large Mustachio's, as did anciently the *Britans*. The King laughing, answer'd, That they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore said *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may justly fight in the defence of our Country ; thou reserved to fitter time, may'st either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, lest it might seem to argue Fear in him, or a Bad Cause, with like Resolution rejected the Offers of Duke *William* sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only Answer hastily deliver'd, Let God judge between us. The Offers were these,

Z

these, That *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combate in the sight of both Armies, or referr it to the Pope. These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the *English* from singing and drinking all night, the *Normans* from confession of thir sins, and communion of the Host. The *English* were in a strait disadvantageous place, so that many discourag'd with thir ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the Onset, the rest in close order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with Gold and precious Stones. The *Norman* Foot, most Bowmen, made the foremost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke Arming, and his Corset giv'n him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Romland*, the remembrance of whose Exploits might heart'n them, imploring lastly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main Body of *English* Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into op'n disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning

turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the Third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greatest part of the *English* Nobility. His Body lying dead a Knight or Souldier wounding on the thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of military service. Of *Normans* and *French* were slain no small number; the Duke himself also that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the *English* also by permission, he sent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his death, came to *London*; sending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners*, would have set up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not likeing the choice, who  
Z 2 each

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each of them expected to have been chos'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and returned home. Duke *William* contrary to his former Resolution, if *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as saith *Malmsbury*, not in a Hostile but in Regal manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd Peace and Defence; yet permitted his Men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Christmass* day solemnly Crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, having first giv'n his Oath at the Altar in presence of all the People, to Defend the Church, well Govern the People, Maintain Right Law; prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the *English*, while they agreed not about the choice of thir Native King, were constrein'd to take the Yoke of an Out-landish Conquerour. With what minds, and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the *Normans* came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessors daies, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand thir Latin Service: He was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference

difference what they eat ; which though in it self no fault, yet to thir Consciences was irreligious. The great men giv'n to Gluttony and dissolute Life, made a prey of the Common People, abusing thir Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Stews ; the meaner sort tipling together night and day, spent all they had in Drunkenness, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to *William* their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them ; but such was the generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous daies with the good, so his severity oft-times exempts not good men from thir share in evil times with the bad.

If these were the Causes of such Misery and Thraldom to those our Ancestors, with what better close can be Concluded, than here in fit season to remember this Age in the midst of her Security, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolution of like Calamities

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F I N I S.

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Aspiræus son of Thos. by Catherine  
He was father to Capys the father of  
Anchises. Also two friends of Æneas  
in the Trojanian war.

Callirhoe, a daughter of the Scamander.

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- Godwin Earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons**  
*stand for Hardecnute, p. 318 he betrays  
 Prince Elfred to Harold, p. 319, 321 being  
 called to account by Hardecnute, he appeaseth  
 him with a very rich Present, p. 322 he earn-  
 estly exhorts Edward to take upon him the  
 Crown of England, p. 325 marries his Daugh-  
 ter to King Edward, p. 326, 327 he raises  
 Forces in opposition of the French whom the  
 King favour'd, p. 331, 332 is banisht, p. 333  
 he and his Sons uniting in a great Fleet, grow  
 formidable, p. 335 coming up to London with  
 his Ships, and preparing for Battel, a Reconci-  
 liation is suddenly made between him and the  
 King, p. 336 sitting with the King at Table,  
 he suddenly sinks down dead in his seat. p. 337*
- Gomer the eldest Son of Japhet believ'd the first**  
*that peopled these West and Northern Climes.*  
 p. 8
- Gonoril gains upon the affection of her Father**  
*King Leir by her dissimulation, p. 24 she is  
 married with Maglaunus Duke of Albania,  
 p. 25 her ingratitude to her Father after she  
 had gain'd from him what she could, p. 25, 26*
- Gorbogudo, or Gorbodego succeeds Kinmar-**  
*cus in the Kingdom.* p. 28
- Gorbonian succeeds Morindus in the Kingdom,**  
*p. 33 his justice and piety.* ibid.
- Gratianus Funarius the Father of Valentinian,**  
*Commander in Chief of the Roman Armies in  
 Britan.* p. 107
- Gregory Arch-deacon of Rome, and afterward**  
*Pope, procures the sending over of Abbot Austin  
 and others to preach the Gospel to the Saxons in  
 this Iland. p. 162* B b 2 Griffin

## The Table.

Griffin Prince of South-Wales joyning with Algar, and committing great spoil in Hereford, is pursued by Harold Earl of Kent, p. 339 after a Peace concluded, he breaks his Faith, and returns to Hostility, *ibid.* is again reduc't, p. 340 Harold sent against him, brings the Welch to submission, p. 341 lurking about the Country, he is taken and slain by Griffin Prince of North-Wales. *ibid.*

Guendolen the Daughter of Corineus is married to Locrine the Son of Brutus, p. 20, 21 being divorc't by him, gives him Battel, wherein he is slain, p. 21 causeth Estrildis whom Locrine had married, to be thrown into a River with her Daughter Sabra, *ibid.* governs fifteen years in behalf of her Son Madan. *ibid.*

Gueniver the Wife of King Arthur kept from him by Melvas a British King in the Town of Glaston. p. 146

Guiderius said to have been the Son of Cunobeline, and slain in a Battel against Claudius. p. 66

Guitheline succeeds his Father Gurguntius Barburius in the Kingdom. p. 32

Gunhildis the Sister of Swane with her Husband Earl Palingus, and her young Son cruelly murdered. p. 291

Guoramongus a King of Kent before it was given to the Saxons. p. 133

Guortimer the Son of Vortiger bends his endeavours to drive out the Saxons, p. 134 his success against them in several Battels, p. 136 dying, he commands his bones to be buried in the Port of Stonar. *ibid.*

Gurguntius

## The Table.

Gurguntius Barbirus *succeeds* Belinus in the Kingdom, *overcomes* the Dane, and gives encouragement to Bartholinus a Spainard to settle a Plantation in Ireland, p. 32 another ancient British King nam'd Gurguntius. p. 36 Gurgustius *succeeds* Rivallo in the Kingdome.

p. 28

Gyrtha Son of Earl Godwin accompanies his Father into Flanders, together with his Brothers Tosti and Swane, p. 333 his noble advice to his Brother Harold as he was ready to give battel to Duke William of Normandy, p. 353 he is slain in the said battel with his Brothers Harold and Leofwin.

p. 355

Gythro or Gothrun a Danish King baptiz'd and receiv'd out of the Font by King Alfred, p. 242 the Kingdom of the East-Angles said to be bestow'd on him to hold of the said Alfred. *ibid.*

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## H.

**H**Ardecnute the Son of Canute by Emma, call'd over from Bruges, and receiv'd King with general acclamation, p. 321 he calls Godwin and others to account about the death of Elfred, p. 322 enrag'd at the Citizens of Worcester for killing his Tax-gatherers, he sends an Army against them, and burns the City, p. 323 he kindly receives and entertains his half Brother Edward, *ibid.* eating and drinking hard at a great Feast, he falls down speechless, and soon after ex pring, is buried at Winchester. *ibid.*

B b 3

Harold

## The Table.

Harold surnamed Harefoot, the Son of Canute elected King by Duke Leofric and the Mercians, p. 318 he banishes his Mother-in-Law Emma, *ibid.* his perfidiousness and cruelty towards Elfred the Son of Ethelred, p. 319, 321 he dies and is buried at Winchester.

p. 321

Harold Son of Godwin, made Earl of Kent, and sent against Prince Griffin of Wales, p. 339 he reduces him at last to utmost extremity, p. 340, 341 being cast upon the Coast of Normandy, and brought to Duke William, he promiseth his endeavours to make him King of England, p. 343, 344 he takes the Crown himself, p. 347 puts off Duke William demanding it with a slighting answer, p. 349, 350 is invaded by his Brother Tosti, p. 348 by Harold Harfager King of Norway, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tosti, p. 350, 351 is invaded by Duke William of Normandy, p. 352 is overthrown at the Battel of Hastings, and slain, together with his two Brothers Leofwin and Gyrtha. p. 355

Helvias Pertinax succeeds Ulpus Marcellus in the Government of Britan. p. 96

Hengist and Horfa with an Army of Saxons, Jutes and Angles, land in the Ile of Thanet, p. 131, 132 Hengist invites over more of his Country-men, p. 132 he gains advantages of Vortiger by marrying his Daughter to him, p. 133 he takes on him Kingly Title, p. 136 his several Battels against the Britans, p. 137 his treacherous slaughter of three hundred British Grandees under pretence of Treaty, p. 138 his death. p. 140

Henninus

## The Table.

- Henninus *Duke of Cornwall bath Regan the Daughter of King Leir given him in Marriage.* p. 25
- Herebert *a Saxon Earl slain with most part of his Army by the Danes at a place call'd Mereswar.* p. 226
- Hinguar and Hubba *two Danish Brethren, how they got footing by degrees in England,* p. 233, 234
- Histon *said to be descended of Japhet, and to have had four Sons who peopled the greatest part of Europe.* p. 10
- Honorius *the Emperour sends aid twice to the Britans against their Northern Invaders.* p. 119, 120
- Horfa *the Brother of Hengist slain in the Saxons Warr against the Britans,* p. 136 *his Burial-place gave name to Horsted a Town in Kent.* ibid.
- Humbeanna and Albert *said by some to have shar'd the Kingdom of East-Angles after one Elfwald.* p. 219

### I.

- J**ago or Lago *succeeds his Uncle Gurgustius in the Kingdom.* p. 28
- Icenians, *and by their example the Trinobantes rise up in Arms against the Romans.* p. 76
- Ida *the Saxon begins the Kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland.* p. 149, 150
- Idwallo *learns by his Brother's ill successs to rule well.* p. 35

## The Table.

- Immanuentius slain by Cassibelan. p. 56
- Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert Noblemen of Mercia throw off Oswi, and set up Wulfer. p. 191
- Ina succeeds Kedwalla in the Kingdome of the West-Saxons, p. 198 he marches into Kent to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo, ibid. is pacified by Victred with a summe of money, and the delivering up of the Accessories, ibid. vanquishes Gerent King of Wales, p. 200 slays Kenwulf and Albright, and vanquishes the East-Angles, p. 201 ends his days at Rome. ibid.
- Inniaunus depos'd for his ill courses. p. 35
- Joseph of Arimathæa said to have first preacht the Christian Faith in this Iland. p. 95
- Jovinus sent Deputy into this Iland by the Emperour Valentinian. p. 109
- Iric a Dane made Earl of Northumberland by Canute in place of Uthred slain, p. 304, 311 he is said by some to have made War against Malcolm King of Scots, p. 312, 313 his greatness suspected by Canute, he is banisht the Realm. p. 313
- Julius Agricola the Emperours Lieutenant in Britan, almost extirpates the Ordovices, p. 83 finishes the Conquest of the Ile of Mona, ibid. his justice and prudence in Government, p. 84 he brings the Britans to Civility, Arts, and an Imitation of the Roman fashions, p. 85 he receives triumphal Honours from Titus, p. 86 he extends his Conquests to Scotland, subdues the Orcades and other Scotch Ilands, p. 86, 87 he is hard put to it in several Conflicts, but comes off victorious, p. 89, 90, &c. he is commanded home by Domitian. p. 92 Julius

## The Table.

Julius Cæsar hath Intelligence that the Britans are aiding to his Enemies the Gauls, p. 41, 42 he sends Caius Volusenus to make discovery of the nature of the People, and strength of the Country, p. 43 after him Comius of Arras to make a party among the Britans, *ibid.* the stout resistance he meets with from them at his landing, p. 45, 46 he receives terms of peace from them, p. 47 he loseth a great part of his Fleet, *ibid.* defeats the Britans, and brings them anew to terms of Peace, and sets sail for Belgia, p. 49, 50 the year following he lands his Army again, p. 51 he hath a very sharp dispute with the Britans near the Stowr in Kent, p. 52, 53 he receives terms of Peace from the Trinobantes, p. 56 he brings Cassibelan to Terms, p. 57 he leaves the Iland, *ibid.* offers to Venus the Patroness of his Family a Corset of British Pearl. *ibid.*

Julius Frontinus the Emperours Lieutenant in Britan, tames the Silures a warlike people.

p. 83

Julius Severus governs Britan under Adrian the Emperour.

p. 93

## K.

**K** Earl surrenders the Kingdom of Mercia to his Kinsman Penda. p. 179

Keaulin succeeds his Father Kenric in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 150 he and his Son Cuthin slay three British Kings at Deorham, p. 156 gives the Britans a very great

*raid*

## The Table.

*rout at Fethanleage, p. 156, 157 is totally routed by the Britans at Wodensbeorth, and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty.*

p. 157, 158

*Kendwalla or Kadwallon a British King joyn- ing with Penda the Mercian, slays Edwin in Battel.*

p. 180

*Kedwalla a West-Saxon Prince return'd from Banishment, slays in fight Edelwalk the South- Saxon, and after that Edric his Successor, p. 194 going to the Ile of Wight, he devotes the fourth part thereof to holy uses, ibid. the Sons of Arwald King of that Ile slain by his order, p. 195 he harraffeth the Countrey of the South- Saxons, ibid. is repell'd by the Kentish men, ibid. yet revenges the death of his Brother Mollo, p. 196 going to Rome to be baptiz'd, he dies there about five weeks after his Bap- tism.*

p. 197, 198

*Kelred the Son of Ethelred succeeds Kenred in the Mercian Kingdom, p. 199 possesseth with an evil Spirit, he dies in despair.*

p. 200

*Kelwulf reigns King of the West-Saxons after Keola, p. 165 he makes War upon the South- Saxons, p. 170 dying, leaves the Kingdom to his Brothers Sons.*

ibid.

*Kelwulf adopted by Ofric the Northumbrian to be his Successor in the Kingdom, p. 201 he be- comes a Monk in Lindisfarn.*

p. 204

*Kened King of the Scots does high honour to King Edgar, p. 275 receives great favours from him, ibid. is challeng'd by him upon some words let fall, but soon pacifies him.*

p. 276

*Kenelm succeeding a Child in the Kingdom of Mercia*

## The Table.

- Mercia after Kenulf, is murth<sup>r</sup>'d by order of  
his Sister Quendrid. p. 218
- Kenred the Son of Wulfer succeeds Ethelred in  
the Mercian Kingdom, p. 199 having reign'd  
a while, he goes to Rome, and is there shorn a  
Monk, *ibid.* another Kenred succeeds in the  
Kingdom of Northumberland. p. 200
- Kenric the Son of Kerdic overthrowes the Bri-  
tans that oppose him, p. 141 kills and puts to  
flight many of the Britans at Searesbirig now  
Salisbury, p. 150 afterwards at Beranvirig  
now Banbury. *ibid.*
- Kentwin a West-Saxon King chaces the Welch-  
Britans to the Sea-shore. p. 194
- Kenulf bath the Kingdom of Mercia bequeath'd  
him by Ecferth, p. 213 he leaves behind him  
the praise of a Vertuous Reign. p. 218
- Kenwalk succeeds his Father Kinegils in the  
Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 184 his suc-  
cesses variously deliver'd, p. 185, 186 he is  
said to have discomfited the Britans at Pen in  
Somerset-shire, p. 190 and giving Battel to  
Wulfer to have taken him prisoner, *ibid.* dy-  
ing, leaves the Government to Sexburga his  
Wife. p. 192
- Kenwulf entituled Clito slain by Ina the West-  
Saxon. p. 201
- Kenwulf King of the West-Saxons, see Kin-  
wulf.
- Keola the Son of Cuthulf succeeds his Uncle Ke-  
aulin in the West-Saxon Kingdom. p. 158
- Keolwulf the Brother of Kenulf the Mercian,  
after two years Reign driven out by Bernulf an  
Usurper. p. 219
- Keorle

## The Table.

- Keorle** with the Forces of Devonshire overthrows the Danes at Wigganbeorch. p. 227
- Kerdic** a Saxon Prince landed at Kerdicshore, and overthrows the Britans, p. 141 defeats their King Natanled in a memorable Battel, *ibid.* founds the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 143 he overthrows the Britans again twice at Kerdic's Ford, and at Kerdic's League. *ibid.*
- Kimarus** reckon'd among the Ancient British Kings. p. 33
- Kinegils** and Cuichelm succeed Kelwulf in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 170 they make Truce with Penda the Mercian, p. 179 they are converted to the Christian Faith, p. 183 Kinegils dying leaves his Son Kenwalk to succeed. p. 184
- Kinmarcus** succeeds Sifillius in the Kingdom. p. 28
- Kinwulf, or Kenwulf** (Sigebert being thrown out and slain by a Swineherd) is saluted King of the West-Saxons, p. 206 behaves himself valorously in several battels against the Welch, p. 208 put to the worst at Besington by Offa the Mercian, *ibid.* is routed and slain in Battell by Kineard whom he had commanded into Banishment. p. 209, 210
- Kymbeline** or Cunobeline the successor of Tenuantius said to be brought up in the Court of Augustus, p. 62 his chief Seat Camalodunum or Maldon. *ibid.*

# The Table.

## L.

**L**earning and Arts when began to flourish among the Saxons. p. 191

Leil succeeds Brute Greenshield, and builds Carleil. p. 23

Leofric Duke of Mercia and Siward of Northumberland sent by Hardecnute against the people of Worcester, p. 323 by their Counsel King Edward seizeth on the Treasures of his Mother Queen Emma, p. 326 they raise Forces for the King against Earl Godwin, p. 332 Leofric's death. p. 341

Leofwin Son of Earl Godwin, after his Fathers Banishment goes over with his Brother Harold into Ireland, p. 333 he and Harold assist their Father with a Fleet against King Edward, p. 334, 335 he is slain with his Brother Harold and Gyrtha in the Battel against William Duke of Normandy. p. 355

Linceus deliver'd in fabulous story to be the Husband of one of the feign'd fifty Daughters of Dioclesian King of Syria, p. 10 the only man sav'd by his Wife, when all the rest of the fifty slew their Husbands. ibid.

Locrin the eldest Son of Brutus bath the middle part of this Iland call'd Loëgria for his share in the Kingdom. p. 20

Lollius Urbicus draws a Wall of Turfs between the Frith of Dunbritton and Edinborough. p. 94

London with a great multitude of her Inhabitants by a sudden fire consumed, p. 215

Lothair

## The Table.

**Lothair succeeds his Brother Ecbert in the Kingdom of Kent.** p. 192

**Lucius a King in some part of Britan thought the first of any King in Europe who receiv'd the Christian Faith, p. 95 is made the second by descent from Marius, ibid. after a long Reign buried at Gloucester.** p. 96

**Lud walls about Trinovant, and calls it Caer Lud, or Luds Town.** p. 36

**Ludiken the Mercian going to avenge Bernulf, is surpris'd by the East-Angles, and put to the sword.** p. 220

**Lupicinus sent over Deputy into this Iland by Julian the Emperour, but soon recall'd.** p. 108

**Lupus Bishop of Troyes assistant to Germanus of Auxerre in the Reformation of the British Church.** p. 122, 123

## M.

**M**Adan succeeds his Father Locrin in the Kingdom. p. 21

**Maglaunus Duke of Albania marries Gonorill eldest Daughter of King Leir.** p. 25

**Maglocune surnamed the Iland Dragon, one of the five that reign'd toward the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchy.** p. 155

**Magus the Son and Successor of Samoths, whom some fable to have been the first peopler of this Iland.** p. 8

**Malcolm Son of Kened King of Scots, falling into Northumberland with his whole power utterly overthrown by Uthred, p. 304 some say by Eric.** p. 313 Malcolm

## The Table.

Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King made King  
of Scotland by Siward in the room of Mac-  
beth. p. 338

Malcolm King of Scotland coming to visit King  
Edward, swears Brotherhood with Tosti the  
Northumbrian, p. 340 afterwards in his ab-  
sence barrasses Northumberland. ibid.

Mandubratius Son of Immanuentius favour'd  
by the Trinobantes against Cassibelan. p. 56

Marganus the Son of Gonorill deposeth his Aunt  
Cordelia, p. 27 shares the Kingdom with his  
Cousin Cunedagius, invades him, but is met  
and overcome by him. ibid.

Marganus the Son of Archigallo a good King.  
p. 35

Marius the Son of Arviragus is said to have over-  
come the Picts, and slain their King Roderic.  
p. 95

Martia the Wife of King Guitheline said to have  
instituted the Law call'd Marchen Leage. p. 32

Martinus made Deputy of the British Province  
failing to kill Paulus, falls upon his own Sword.  
p. 107, 108

Maximianus Hercules forc't to conclude a peace  
with Carausius, and yield him Britan. p. 103

Maximus a Spaniard usurping part of the Em-  
pire, is overcome at length and slain by Theo-  
dosius, p. 111 Maximus a friend of Geron-  
tius is by him set up in Spain against Constan-  
tine the Usurper. p. 114

Mempricius one of Brutus his Council perswades  
him to hasten out of Greece. p. 15

Mempricius and Malim succeed their Father  
Madan in the Kingdom, p. 21 Mempricius  
treache-

## The Table.

- treacherously slaying his Brother, gets sole possession of the Kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at last devour'd by Wolves.* p. 22
- Mellitus, Justus, and others sent with Austin to the Conversion of the Saxons, p. 165 he converts the East-Saxons, p. 167 St Paul's Church in London built for his Cathedral by Ethelred, as that of Rochester for Justus.* ibid.
- Mollo, the Brother of Cedwalla, persu'd, beset, and burnt in a house whither he had fled for shelter, p. 195 his death reveng'd by his Brother.* p. 196
- Morcar the Son of Algar made Earl of Northumberland in the room of Tosti, p. 342 he and Edwin Duke of the Mercians put Tosti to flight, p. 349 they give Battel to Harold Harfager, King of Norway: but are put to the worst, p. 351 they refuse to set up Edgar, and at length are brought to swear fidelity to Duke William of Normandy* p. 355, 356
- Mordred Arthur's Nephew said to have given him in a Battel his death wound.* p. 154
- Morindus, the Son of Elanius by Tanguetela, a valiant man, but infinitely cruel.* p. 33
- Mulmutius, see Dunwallo.*
- 

O.

- O***cta and Eblis call'd over by Hengist their Uncle, p. 133 they possess themselves of that part of the Ile which is now Northumberland* ibid.
- Oenus, one in the Catalogue of Ancient British Kings.* p. 36 Oeric

## The Table.

Oeric or Oisc succeeds his Father Hengist in the Kingdom of Kent, and from him the Kentish Kings call'd Oiscings, p. 140 be is otherwise call'd Esca. p. 150

Offa the Son of Siger quits his Kingdom of the East-Saxons to go to Rome and turn Monk with Kenred. p. 199, 202

Offa defeating and slaying Beornred the Usurper, becomes King of Mercia after Ethelbald, p. 207 he subdues a neighbouring People call'd Hestings, p. 208 gets the Victory of Alric King of Kent at Ottanford, *ibid.* inviting Ethelbright King of the East-Angles to his Palace, he there treacherously causeth him to be beheaded, and seizeth his Kingdom, p. 212 his at first enmity, afterwards league with Charles the Great, p. 213 he grants a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every house in his Kingdom, *ib.* he draws a Trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British Confines, his death. *ibid.*

Osald a Nobleman exalted to the Throne of the Northumbrians after Ethelred. p. 214

Osbert reigns in Northumberland after the last of the Ethelreds in the time of the Danish Invasion. p. 227

Osbert and Ella helping the Picts against Donatus King of Scotland, put the Scots to flight at Sterlinbridge with great slaughter, and take the King prisoner. p. 230

Osfrid and Eanfrid the Sons of Edwin converted and baptized, p. 179 Osfrid slain together with his Father in a battel against Kedwalla. p. 180

## The Table.

- Oslac and Cnebban two Saxon Earls slain by Keaulin at Wibbandun. p. 150
- Osmund King of the South-Saxons. p. 207
- Osfred a Child succeeds Aldfrid in the Northumbrian Kingdom. p. 199 he is slain by his kindred for his vicious life. p. 200
- Osfred Son of Alclred advanc't to the Kingdom of Northumberland after Elfwald, is soon driven out again, p. 210 is taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at York. p. 211, 212
- Osfic the Son of Elfric baptiz'd by Paulinus succeeds in the Kingdom of Deira, p. 181 turns Apostate, and is slain by an Eruption of Kedwalla out of a besieg'd Town, *ibid.* another Osric succeeds Kenred the second. p. 200
- Osfic Earl of Southampton and Ethelwolf of Barksh. beat the Danes back to thir ships, p. 233
- Ostorius sent Vice-prætor into Britan in the room of Plautius the Prætor, p. 67 routs the Britans, and improves his Victory to the best advantage, p. 67, 68, gives the Government of several Cities to Cogidunus a British King his Ally, p. 68 defeats the Silures under the leading of Caractacus. p. 69
- Ostfrid the Wife of Ethelred kill'd by her own Nobles. p. 199
- Oswald Brother of Eanfrid living exil'd in Scotland, is there baptiz'd, p. 181 with a small Army utterly overthrows Kedwalla, *ibid.* settles Religion, and very much enlarges his Dominions, p. 182 overcome, and slain in Battel by Penda at Maserfield, now Oswester, p. 183
- 184 Oswi succeeds his Brother Oswald in the Kingdom, p. 184 he perswades Sigebert to receive

## The Table.

- ceive the Christian Faith, p. 187 he discomfits  
 Penda's vast Army, p. 188, 189 he subdues  
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 Nation, p. 189 shaken off by the Mercian No-  
 bles, and Wulfer set up in his stead, p. 190 his  
 death. p. 191*  
*Oswin the Nephew of Edwin shares with Oswi  
 in the Kingdom of Northumberland, p. 185  
 coming to Arms with him, he is over-match'd,  
 and slain by his command. ibid.*  
*Oswulf bath the Crown of Northumberland re-  
 linquish't to him by Eadbert, p. 207, 208 slain  
 by his own Servants. p. 208*  
*Otha succeeds Esca in the Kingd. of Kent, p. 150*  
*Otter and Roald two Danish Leaders landing in  
 Devonshire, their whole Forces are scatter'd,  
 and Roald slain. p. 255*
- 

## P.

- P***Andraſus a Grecian King keeps the Trojans  
 in ſervitude, p. 12 is ſet upon and beaten by  
 Brutus. p. 13, 14*  
*Paulinus ſent ſpiritual Guardian with Edelburga;  
 endeavours to convert Northumberland to  
 Chriſtianity, p. 174 the manner of his winning  
 King Edwin to embrace the Chriſtian Religion,  
 p. 176, 177, 178 he converts the Province of  
 Lindſey, and Blecca the Governour of Lincoln,  
 and builds a Church in that City. p. 179*  
*Peada the Son of Penda and prince of the Mid-  
 dle-Angles, is baptiz'd with all his Followers,  
 p. 186 he bath South-Mercia conferr'd on him*

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- by Oswi, p. 189 is slain by the treachery of his  
Wife on Easter-day. p. 190
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Church, p. 112 the Pelagian Doctrine refuted  
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- Penda the Son of Wibba King of Mercia bath  
the Kingdom surrendr'd him by Kearnle, p. 179  
he joyns with Kedwalla against Edwin, p. 180  
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tish Kings. p. 36
- Peredure and Vigenius expel their Brother Eli-  
dure, and share the Kingdom between them. p. 35
- Perjury an example of divine vengeance in Alfred  
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- Petilius Cerealis utterly defeated by the Britans,  
p. 77 he commands the Roman Army in Bri-  
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- Petronius Turpilianus commands in chief in Bri-  
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- Pir one of the ancientest Race of Brit. Kings. p. 36
- Picts and Scots harrafs the South Coasts of Bri-  
tan, p. 108, 109, &c. See Scots.
- Picts and Saxons beaten by the Britans, through  
the pious Conduct of Germanus. p. 123, 124
- Porrex the Son of Gorbogudo, though assisted  
from France, is slain by his Brother Ferrex,  
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Prasutagus *King of the Icenians, leaving Cæsar coheir with his Daughters, causeth the Britans to revolt.* P. 75, 76

Priscus Licinius *Lieutenant in this Ile under Adrian.* P. 94

Probus *subdues the Usurper Bonofus, who falls in the Battel, p. 101 prevents by his wisdom new risings in Britan.* P. 101, 102

## R.

**R**eadwulf *succeeding Ethelred in Northumbria, soon after his Coronation, cut off with his whole Army by the Danes at Alvetheli.* P. 226

Rederchius *reckon'd among the ancient British Kings.* P. 36

Redion, *another British King.* *ibid.*

Redwald *King of the East-Angles wars against Ethelfrid, in defence of Edwin, and stays him in Battel.* P. 173

Regin *Son of Gorbonian, a good King.* P. 35

Rivallo *succeeds his Father Cunedagius.* P. 28

Rollo *the Dane or Norman having fought unsuccessfully here, turns his Forces into France, and conquers the Country since call'd Normandy.* P. 248

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## The Table.

- 52 the cruel Massacre of the Britans upon them, p. 77, 78 they leave the Iland to succour their declining affairs in other parts. p. 111, 112, &c. they come and aid the Britans against the Scots and Picts, 119 they help them to build a new Wall, p. 120 instruct them in War, and take their last farewell. p. 120, 121
- Romanus nam'd among the four Sons of Hiltion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Romans fabled to be derived. p. 10
- Rowen the Daughter of Hengist sent for over by her Father, p. 132 she presents King Vortigern with a bowl of wine by her Father's Command, p. 133 she is upon the King's demand given him in Marriage. ibid.
- Rudaucus King of Cambria subdued in fight, and slain by Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 28
- Rudhuddibras succeeds his Father Leil, and founds Caerkeint or Canterbury, with several other places. p. 23
- Runno the Son of Peredure not immediate Successor. p. 35
- 

## S.

- S**abra thrown into the River (thence call'd Sabrina) with her Mother Estrildis by Guendolen. p. 21
- Samothés the first King that History or Fable mentions to have peopled this Iland. p. 8
- Samulius recorded among the ancient British Kings. p. 36
- Saron the second King nam'd among the Successors of Samothés. p. 8 Saxons

## The Table.

*Saxons barrafs the South Coast of Britan, flay Ne-  
ctaridius and Bulcobandes, p. 108, 109 Sa-  
xons and Picts, see Picts.*

*Saxons invited into Britan by Vortigern and the  
Britans, against the Scots and Picts, p. 129  
their Original, p. 130 they arrive under the  
leading of Hengist and Horfa, p. 131 they  
beat the Scots and Picts near Stamford, p. 132  
fresh Forces sent them over, and their bounds  
enlarg'd, p. 132, 133 they making league with  
the Scots and Picts, waste the land without re-  
sistance, p. 134 beaten by Guortimer in four  
Battels; and driven into Thanet, p. 136 they  
return most of them into their own Country, p.  
138, 139 the rest notably defeated by Ambro-  
sius Aurelianus and the Britans. p. 139, 140*

*Scots, Picts, and Attaccts barrafs the South Coast  
of Britan, p. 108 overcome by Maximus, p.  
109 Scots possess Ireland first, and named it  
Scotia, 112 Scots and Picts beaten by the Ro-  
mans, sent to the supply of the Britans, p. 119,  
120 they make spoil and havock with little or  
no opposition. p. 122*

*Sebbi having reign'd over the East-Saxons thirty  
years, takes on him the habit of a Monk. p. 192*

*Sebert the Son of Sleda, reigns over the East-  
Saxons by permission of Ethelbert. p. 167*

*Segonax, one of the four petty Kings in Britan,  
that assaulted Cæsar's Camp. p. 57*

*Sejus Saturninus commands the Roman Navy in  
Britan. p. 94*

*Selred the Son of Sigebert the Good, succeeds Offa  
in the East-Saxon Kingdom, and comes to a  
violent end. p. 205*

## The Table.

- Septimius Severus the Roman Emperour, arrives in person with an Army in this Iland, p. 97, 98 his ill success against the Caledonians, p. 98, 99 nevertheless goes on and brings them to terms of peace, 99 builds a Wall across the Iland, from Sea to Sea, *ibid*, they taking Arms again, he sends his Son Antoninus against them, p. 100 he dies at York, 'tis thought of grief. *ibid*.
- Severus sent over Deputy into this Iland by the Emperour Valentinian. p. 109
- Sexburga the Wife of Kenwalk driven out by the Nobles, disdaining female Government. p. 192
- Sexted and Seward re-establish Heathenisme in East-Saxony, after the death of their Father Sebert, p. 171 in a fight against the Britans they perish with their whole Army. p. 172
- Sigeward and Senfred succeed their Father Sebbi in the East-Saxon Kingdom. p. 205
- Sigebert succeeds his Brother Eorpwald in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 183 he founds a School or Colledge, and betakes himself to a Monastical life, p. 184 being forc't into the field against Penda, he is slain with his Kinsman Eglic. *ibid*.
- Sigebert surnamed the Small, succeeds his Father Seward King of the East-Saxons, p. 187 his successor Sigebert the II<sup>d</sup> is perswaded by Oswi to embrace Christianity, *ibid*. is murdered by the Conspiracy of two Brethren, *ibid*. his death denounc't by the Bishop for eating with an excommunicate person, p. 188 Sigebert the Kinsman of Cuthred succeeds him in the West-Saxon Kingdom. p. 206

Siger

## The Table.

- Siger the Son of Sigebert the Small, and Sebbi the Son of Seward succeed in the Government of the East-Saxons after Swithelms decease. p. 191
- Silures a People of Britan chuse Caractacus for their Leader against the Romans, p. 68 they continue the War after Caractacus was taken, against Ostorius and others. p. 71, 72, 73, &c.
- Simon Zelotes, by some said to have preacht the Christian Faith in this Iland. p. 95
- Sifillius succeeds Jago. p. 28
- Sifilius the Son of Guitheline succeeds his Mother Martia, p. 32 another of that name reckon'd in the number of the ancient British Kings. p. 36
- Siward Earl of Northumberland sent by Hardecnute together with Leofric against the people of Worcester, p. 323 he and Leofric raise Forces for King Edward against Earl Godwin, p. 332 he makes an expedition into Scotland, vanquishes Macbeth, and placeth in his stead Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King, p. 338 he dies at York in an armed posture. ib.
- Sleda erects the Kingd. of the East-Saxons. p. 143
- South-Saxon Kingdom by whom erected, p. 141
- South-Saxons upon what occasion converted to the Christian Faith. p. 193
- Staterius King of Albany, is defeated and slain in fight by Dunwallo Mulmutius. p. 28, 29
- Stilicho represses the invading Scots and Picts. p. 111
- Stuff and Withgar the Nephews of Kerdic bring him new levies, p. 142 they inherit what he won in the Ile of Wight. p. 148
- Suetonius Paulinus Lieutenant in Britan, attacks the Ile of Mona or Anglesey, p. 74
- Suidhelm

## The Table.

**Suidhelm** succeeds Sigebert in the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 189 he is baptiz'd by Redda. ibid.

**Swane** in revenge of his Sisters death makes great devastations in the West of England, p. 291 he carries all before him as far as London, but is there repell'd. p. 299 is stil'd King of England, *ibid.* he sickens and dies. p. 300

**Swane** the Son of Earl Godwin treacherously murders his Kinsman Beorn, p. 328 his peace wrought with the King by Aldred Bishop of Worcester, *ibid.* toucht in Conscience for the slaughter of Beorn, he goes barefoot to Rome, and returning home dies in Licia. p. 336

**Swithred** the last King of the East-Saxon Kingdom, driven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon, p. 205, 220

T.

**T**aximagulus a petty King anciently in Britan, one of the four Kings that assaulted Cæsar's Camp. p. 57

**Tenuantius** one of the Sons of Lud bath Cornwall allotted him, p. 37 made King after the death of Cassibelan. p. 62

**Teudric** a Warlike King of Britan, said to have exchang'd his Crown for a Hermitage, p. 258 to have taken up Arms again in aid of his Son Mouric. ibid.

**Theobald** the Brother of King Ethelfrid, slain at Degfastan. p. 166

**Theodore** a Monk of Tarsus ordain'd Bishop of Canterbury

## The Table.

- Canterbury by P. Vitalian, p. 191 by his means the *Liberal Arts*, and the Greek and Latin Tongues flourish among the Saxons. *ibid.*
- Theodosius sent over by the Emperour Valentinian, enters London victoriously, p. 109 sends for Civilis and Dulcitius, p. 109, 110 punishes Valentinus a Pannonian, conspiring against him, p. 100 he returns with applause to Valentinian, *ibid.*
- Theodosius the Son of the former prefer'd to the Empire, p. 111 overcomes and slays Maximus, usurping the Empire. *ibid.*
- Thurfert and divers other Danish Lords submit to King Edward the elder. p. 257
- Titulus succeeds his Father Uffa in the Kingdom of the East-Angles. p. 143
- Togodumnus the second Son of Cunobeline succeeds in the Kingdom, p. 63 is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, p. 64 slain in Battel. p. 65
- Tofti the Son of Godwin made Earl of Northumberland in the room of Siward, p. 339 he swears Brotherhood with Malcolm King of Scotland, p. 340 goes to Rome with Aldred Bishop of York, *ibid.* the Northumbrians rise against him and expel him, p. 342, 343 a story of great outrage and cruelty committed by him at Hereford, p. 243 making War against his Brother King Harold, he is driven out of the Country by Edwin and Morcar, p. 348, 349 joyning with Harold Harfager King of Norway against his Brother, he is slain together with Harfager in the Battel. p. 350, 351
- Trebellius Maximus sent into Britan in the room of Petronius Turpilianus. p. 82
- Trinohantes

## The Table.

Trinobantes fall off from Cassibelan, and submit to Cæsar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection. p. 56

Turkil a Danish Earl assaults Canterbury, but is brought off, p. 294, 295 he swears Allegiance to King Ethelred, that under that pretence he might stay and give intelligence to Swane, p. 298 he leaves the English again, and joyns with Canute, p. 302 his greatness suspected by Canute, he is banisht the Realm. p. 313

Turketill a Danish Leader, submitting to King Edward, obtains leave of him to go and try his Fortune in France. p. 255, 256

### V.

**V**alentinian the Emperour sends over several Deputies successively into this Iland. p. 109

Vectius Bolanus sent into Britan in the room of Trebellius Maximus. p. 82

Vellocatus, see Venutius and Cartismandua.

Venutius a King of the Brigantes deserted by his Wife Cartismandua, who marries his Squire Vellocatus, p. 72, 73 he rights himself against her by Arms, p. 73 makes War successfully against those taking part with his Wife. ibid.

Verannius succeeds A. Didius in the British Wars. p. 74

Vertue ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans. p. 67

Vespasian valiantly fighting under Plautius against the Britans is rescued from danger by his Son Titus, p. 66 for his eminent services bere  
be

## The Table.

- he receives triumphal Ornaments at Rome. ib.*  
*Uffa erects the Kingdom of the East-Angles, p.*  
*142 from him his successours call'd Uffings.*  
*P. 143*  
*Victorinus a Moor, appeaseth a Commotion in*  
*Britan, by slaying a Governour of his own re-*  
*commending. p. 102*  
*Victorinus of Tolosa made Prefect of this Iland.*  
*p. 112*  
*Viſfred the Son of Ecbert obtaining the Kingdom*  
*of Kent, settles all things in peace, p. 196 af-*  
*ter thirty four years Reign he deceaseth, p. 200*  
*Videna slays her Son Ferrex in revenge of her o-*  
*ther Son Porrex. p. 28*  
*Vigenius and Peredure, expelling their Brother*  
*Elidure, share the Kingdom between them. p. 35*  
*Virius Lupus hath the North part of the Govern-*  
*ment assign'd him by Severus the Emperour. p. 97*  
*Ulfketel Duke of the East-Angles sets upon the*  
*Danes with great valour, p. 292 his Army de-*  
*feated through the subtlety of a Danish servant,*  
*p. 296 he is slain with several other Dukes at*  
*the fatal Battel of Asſandune. p. 308*  
*Ulpus Marcellus sent Lieutenant into Britan by*  
*Commodus, ends the War by his Valour and*  
*Prudence. p. 96*  
*Vortipor Reigns in Demetia, or South-Wales.*  
*p. 155*  
*Vortigern's Character, p. 128, 129 he is advi-*  
*sed by his Council to invite in the Saxons against*  
*the Scots and Picts, p. 129 he bestows upon*  
*Hengist and the Saxons, the Ile of Thanet,*  
*p. 131, 132 then all Kent, upon a marriage*  
*with Rowen Hengist's Daughter, p. 133 con-*  
*demn'd*

## The Table.

- demi'd in a Synod for incest with his Daughter, he retires to a Castle in Radnorshire, built for the purpose, p. 135 his Son Guortimer dead he resumes the Government, p. 137 is drawn into a snare by Hengist, p. 138 retiring again is burnt in his Tower. ibid.*
- Urianus, reckon'd in the number of ancient British Kings. p. 36*
- Utherpendragon thought to be the same with Natanleod. p. 142*
- Uthred submits himself with the Northumbrians to Swane, p. 299 to Canute, 304 his Victory over Malcolm King of Scots, p. 304, 312, 313 he is slain by Turebrand a Danish Lord at Canutes either Command or Consequence. p. 304*
- 

## W:

- W***est-Saxon Kingdom by whom Erected. p. 143*
- West-Saxons, and their Kings converted to the Christian Faith by Berinus. p. 182, 183*
- Wibba succeeds Crida in the Mercian Kingdom. p. 158*
- Willbrod a Priest goes over with twelve others to preach the Gospel in Germany, p. 198 he is countenanc'd by Pepin Chief Regent of the Franks, and made first Bishop of that Nation. p. 198, 199*
- Wilfrid Bishop of the Northumbrians depriv'd by Ecfrid of his Bishopric, wanders as far as Rome, p. 193 returning plants the Gospel in the*

## The Table.

the Ile of Wight, and other places assign'd him, p. 193, 194 bath the fourth part of that Iland given him by Kedwalla, he bestows it on Bertwin a Priest, his Sisters Son. p. 194, 195 William Duke of Normandy honourably entertain'd by King Edward, and richly dismiss, p. 333 he betroths his Daughter to Harold, and receives his Oath to assist him to the Crown of England. p. 343, 344 sending after King Edwards death to demand performance of his promise, is put off with a slight answer, p. 349, 350 he lands with an Army at Hastings, p. 352 overthrows Harold, who with his two Brothers is slain in Battel, p. 355 he is Crown'd at Westminster by Aldred Arch-bishop of York. p. 356 Wipped a Saxon Earl slain at a place call'd Wippeds fleet, which thence took denomination, p. 137

Withgar, see Stuff.

Withgarburgh in the Ile of Wight so call'd from being the burial-place of Withgar. p. 148

Withlaf the successor of Ludiken, being vanquisht by Ecbert, all Mercia becomes tributary to him. p. 220

Wulfer the Son of Penda set up by the Mercian Nobles in the room of his Brother Oswi, p. 190 said to have been taken Prisoner by Kenwalk the West-Saxon, ibid. he takes and wasts the Ile of Wight, but causeth the Inhabitants to be baptized, ibid. gives the Iland to Ethelwald King of South-Saxons, ibid. sends Jarumannus to recover the East-Saxons, fallen off the second time from Christianity, p. 191 Lindsey taken from him by Ecfrid of Northumberland, land,

## The Table.

land, p. 192 *his death accompani'd with the  
stain of Simonie.* ibid.  
**Wulfheard King** Ethelwolf's Chief Captain,  
*drives back the Danes at Southampton with  
great slaughter, p. 226 he dies the same year,  
as it is thought of Age.* ibid.  
**Wulktul Earl of Ely** put to flight with his whole  
*Army by the Danes.* p. 236

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Y.

**Ymner King of Loegria,** *with others slain in  
Battel by Dunwallo Mulmutins.* p. 28

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## FINIS.

